Hitler's Letters and Notes

WERNER MASER

Translated from the German by Arnold Pomerans

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Preface

Perhaps this book should have been called 'Hitler's Hitler' for, in contrast to the countless publications that have been devoted to Hitler, National Socialism, the Nazi Party and the Third Reich – there are more than 100,000 dealing with the Second World War alone – it does not try to interpret Hitler but lets him speak for himself.

After my biography of Hitler was published in the autumn of 1971, I received so many letters and notes written by and to Hitler that I decided to publish a characteristic selection of them together with equally typical letters in the Federal Archives, the Institute for Contemporary History, the US Documentation Center, the National Archives in Washington, in private hands and in my own collection built up over the past twenty years.

It must be said that as the work proceeded, quite a few unsuspected facts came to light.

Werner Maser
Düsseldorf

Translator's note

In quoting from *Mein Kampf* I have relied largely on Ralph Manheim's excellent translation, published by Hutchinson in 1969. I should like to acknowledge my indebtedness to Mr Manheim.

By arrangement the text of the original has been slightly adapted (in certain passages extended and in others shortened) for this translation.

Introduction

The German edition of this book was on all the bestseller lists three weeks after its publication and excerpts were published in *Der Spiegel*. The English version is more extensive, and shows that all of Hitler's biographers have misinterpreted his political development. Almost all of them have swallowed Hitler's own claim that his political philosophy had been 'completed' even before the First World War. In fact, as this book demonstrates beyond a shadow of a doubt, Hitler was still no more than one voice in a crowd as late as 1921, thinking and arguing like the majority of right-wing radicals.

The question of why this book had to be written is relatively simple to answer. It makes clear for the first time what Adolf Hitler really thought and believed, and what he hoped to achieve during the years prior to the publication of his *Mein Kampf* (1925–26). Previous texts have failed to show to what extent Hitler's earlier statements tally with the facts, and to what extent they are pure invention.

In *Mein Kampf*, in which he describes himself as a precocious genius conscious of his mission, he contends that, after 1913–14, his philosophy required no 'changes' apart from a few additions here and there. In other words, he claims that, even before the 1918 Revolution and the consequent rise of new ideologies and political institutions, he was able to foresee developments that no one else could so much as have imagined at the time, and that, in *Mein Kampf*, he did no more than put down in print what he had thought, known and believed for at least a decade.

For lack of oral testimony or documentary evidence to the contrary, historians and biographers alike have seen fit to take Hitler at his word, the more so as those of his earlier speeches which were reprinted in the *Völkischer Beobachter* after 1922, or recorded by more critical observers do not make it clear whether they were accur-

ate reflections of Hitler's views at the time or mere rhetoric. This is true particularly of the reports of Hitler's speeches prepared in 1919 on the orders of the Bavarian government.

By contrast, the documents, letters and drafts published in this book, many for the first time, show conclusively that it was only after the First World War that Hitler's views on domestic policy, the 'Jewish question', boundary changes, population policy and foreign affairs assumed the form in which he presented them after 1925 and which, with minor alterations, he retained for the rest of his life. The man who emerges from these documents is therefore the real Hitler, and much more clearly and compellingly so than in most of his other writings, in which he did not always succeed in painting his true likeness.

Dr Werner Maser
Speyer, Germany
1974

PART I

Letters and Bequests

CHAPTER ONE

Schoolboy, art student and conscientious objector

'Good correspondents,' Otto von Bismarck informed his sister on 22 February, 1845, 'do not don their Sunday best every time they sit down to pen a letter; that is, they do not mind writing about the most trivial, everyday things. When you love someone . . . just keeping in touch is a delight. When you feel excited you write a bright letter; when you are sad, you write a sentimental letter; when your stomach is upset you write a hypochondriacal letter; and when you have been working on the land you write a dry and down-to-earth letter. I have been doing accounts all day and, alas, I am at a loss for words; had it not been for Grosvenor, I should surely have put off writing this letter (that's how easily I commit the very error I criticize!) and now I have filled three whole pages with God knows what and expect you to read them as your sisterly duty. But then I would like you, too, to write to me . . . in whatever mood you happen to be – I shall always enjoy your letters, be they short or long, stamped or unstamped; though you might think them dull, to me they will never be that.'[1]

Adolf Hitler, who was familiar with Bismarck's correspondence and claimed that he had drawn political lessons from it,[2] certainly never followed Bismarck's advice – even as a young man he never wrote unless he had something 'special' to serve up.* Moreover, unlike Bismarck he was not in the least concerned about his correspondents' feelings and doings – he merely wrote about his own, and preferably to people who did not question his wisdom. On only one occasion did he think it necessary to point out expressly that he was speaking of himself,† but *all* his other letters were autobiographical – intentionally or otherwise. Hence his correspondents seem lifeless

* See pp. 16 and 18

† See p. 107; Letter of 29 November, 1921.

figures and their problems mere pegs on which Hitler could hang his opinions. This was true no less of his advice to a humble party comrade as to what kind of car he should buy* than of his correspondence with the great of the land. Thus when a cardinal (not mentioned by name) criticized him for allowing the publication of Alfred Rosenberg's *Der Mythus des 20 Jahrhunderts*, Hitler came back at him (letter of 20 May, 1931) with the remark that even 'Minister Goethe was left to pen anti-clerical ideas without being rebuked by the Grand Duke – and so were dozens of other writers of political fame'.[3]

In his correspondence, Hitler never suffered the least contradiction or felt any need to answer awkward questions. Instead he repeated his own ideas. Genuine interest in others was totally alien to him – the man who could inflame the masses and identify himself with their longings as few others, never bothered to find out what his friends – let alone strangers – thought and felt. This becomes particularly clear from his correspondence with August Kubizek. In 1905, Hitler had been advised by his family physician to leave school because of a lung condition, and he decided to seek admission to the Vienna Academy of Applied Art.[4] However, he was in no hurry, and spent a long leave with relatives in Spital. After returning from Spital he met Kubizek, a young man from Linz who had been working as a decorator and upholsterer in his father's business until he discovered his great love of music (he eventually became conductor of the Marburg Stadt Theatre). Together they attended concerts, and ran after Stefanie,* a girl with whom Adolf was secretly in love. Decades later, Kubizek still boasted that, from 1904 to 1908, he had been Hitler's sole friend. For all that he never realized what precise role he was expected to play in their friendship or, indeed, what his friend really thought. True, Kubizek gathered some personal details, but he was never allowed to draw too close or to make any creative suggestions. He learned from Hitler that they came from the same district, that Adolf had been a schoolboy from 1895 to the autumn of 1905, and that in January 1903 he had lost his father, an ambitious and respected customs officer. He met Hitler's mother, who died in December 1907 at the age of 47. From her remarks, from his friend's brief hints and from later publica-

* See p. 119.
† See p. 12.

tions he then manufactured what he thought he had learned at first hand about the Hitlers and young Adolf in particular:* that the latter loved his mother and revered but constantly provoked his father; that he hated High School and that (throughout his life) he had dreams of becoming a famous painter or architect, that by the age of 25 he had a fixed political philosophy and that his youth was one of hardship and poverty. Now, though all these details recur in *Mein Kampf* and indeed in a host of biographies, they do not agree with the facts.

Adolf Hitler was born on 20 April, 1889, in Braunau am Inn, and had an exceedingly happy childhood. His mother loved and spoiled him, and so did the rest of the family. After the death of his brother Gustav and sister Ida (who died within 25 days of each other in 1885–1886) and of his youngest brother Otto (who died in 1887) he became the apple of both his parents' eyes. The financial circumstances of the Hitlers were good. One year before Adolf's birth, Alois had bought a fairly large farmstead in Wörnharts near Spital, and had it managed by his unmarried, hunchbacked sister-in-law, Johanna Pölzl. In 1892, he was appointed Provisional Customs Inspector and transferred to Passau, because little Braunau, where he had lived for 21 years as a state official, had no need for so exalted an official.

While Alois jun. (born 1882) and Angela Hitler (born 1883), Adolf's half-brother and half-sister from Alois' marriage to Franziska Matzelsberger (who had died of tuberculosis, one year after her marriage), were finishing school and probably had to help Alois' third wife (Klara Pölzl) in the home, young Adolf was allowed to do as he pleased;† and so pleased was he, in fact, that all his life long he retained the Passau dialect.

When Adolf was six years old his parents moved to Lambach am Traun (a village of 1,700 inhabitants), where his father had acquired a large house with some 8 acres of land. It was here (in Fischlham near Lambach) that Adolf entered the single-class elementary school where he learned to read and write (1895–1896), and which he later bought in 1939. At the same time, he experienced the first serious restrictions of his happy-go-lucky ways, and not only at school: his father, who had been retired for health reasons in June 1895, found time hanging so heavily on his hands that he turned into a petty tyrant

* *Cf.* Note 5 on p. 8.
† *Cf.* Maser: *Adolf Hitler*, pp. 51ff.

at home, nagging his 14-year-old son Alois so much that the boy left home in 1896. Alois sen. was afraid that Adolf, too, would turn into an idler like his brother, and to avert this disaster he took the young boy under his wing. Adolf became the focus of all his father's hopes and impatient expectations.

In 1898, young Adolf became choir-boy and server – a role he liked to recall – and also attended the old Benedictine school, where he proved an outstandingly good pupil and collected the highest marks.* It was in the chancel in Lambach Church that he first saw a carving of a swastika and that he 'intoxicated himself with the solemn splendour of the brilliant church festivals'.† As he was fond of pointing out later, he had serious plans to become a priest, and several of his classmates did in fact enter the church.‡

From 1896 to the beginning of 1900, the Hitler family comprised seven members: the parents, Alois and Klara Hitler, two children from Alois' second marriage, namely Alois and Angela, and three children from Alois' third marriage, namely Adolf, Edmund and Paula. In February 1900, just before Adolf was due to go to the High School in Linz, Edmund, who might have endangered his predominant position in the household, died. 'The part played by his half-brother Alois and by his half-sister Angela in his early development cannot be established with the same certainty. Angela, whose daughter Geli became Adolf's great "love" some 30 years later, was in his full confidence for three decades and from 1928 to 1935 even acted the part of humble housekeeper before she suddenly disappeared; but whether and to what extent her presence helped to shape his character is unclear.'§

Alois Hitler sold his Hafeld house in 1897 to Conrad Ritter von Zdekauer, and moved to Lambach am Traun. The Hitler family spent the first six months of their stay in No. 58, and then took lodgings with a miller by the name of Zoebl, with whom they remained until the late autumn of 1898. Adolf was most upset by this move, because he hated the loud noises that emanated from the smithy across the road. He was more than delighted therefore when his father bought a house in Leonding near Linz, and moved his family there in February 1899.

* *Cf.* Maser: *Adolf Hitler*, p. 56.

† *Cf.* Hitler, p. 4. (To distinguish between *Mein Kampf* by Hitler and Maser's *Hitler's Mein Kampf*, the former is referred to as 'Hitler' throughout this book.)

‡ *Cf.* Maser: *Adolf Hitler*, p. 56.

§ *ibid.*, p. 59.

In September 1900, Adolf entered the Linz High School and continued to live at home until his father's quite unexpected death – Alois Hitler collapsed during his 'morning tipple' in the local inn. Before his death, Alois Hitler, who had made something of his own life, and having discovered that his oldest son, Alois, was not able or willing to follow in his footsteps, had set his heart on turning his intelligent and alert Adolf into a civil servant. 'I was meant to study,' Hitler wrote in *Mein Kampf*. 'From my whole nature and temperament, Father concluded that a *Gymnasium* [grammar school] would not suit me and that a *Realschule* would be much better, the more so as I had an obvious talent for drawing, a subject he thought was shamefully neglected in the Austrian *Gymnasiums*. Perhaps his own hard work had persuaded him that humanistic studies were impractical, and hence less desirable. In any case, he had set his heart on turning . . . his son into a civil servant . . . It was only natural that the hardship of his youth should have enhanced his subsequent achievement in his eyes, particularly since it resulted exclusively from his own iron diligence and determination. It was the pride of the self-made man that made him want his son to rise to the same or even a higher position in life . . . The thought that I might reject what had become the content of his whole life was to him simply . . . inconceivable. Hence his decision was simple and clear . . . Moreover, his domineering nature, forged during a lifetime spent in the bitter struggle for existence, would have found it quite intolerable to leave the final decision in such matters to an inexperienced and hence irresponsible boy. To have done so would have struck him as . . . a reprehensible weakness in the exercise of his paternal authority and responsibility . . . For the first time in my life I was forced . . . into opposition. Hard and determined as my father might be in putting through plans . . . his son was just as determined and recalcitrant in rejecting an idea that appealed to him not at all, or in any case very little. I did not want to become a civil servant. Neither persuasion nor "serious" arguments could change this fact. I did not want to be a civil servant . . . All my father's attempts to inspire me with love or pleasure in this profession by stories from his own life had the opposite effect. I yawned and grew sick to my stomach at the thought of sitting in an office, deprived of my liberty and unable to call myself master of my own time.'*

After his father's death, Adolf felt much freer than before. He lazed

* Hitler, pp. 5f.

about and did the absolute minimum at school. In his mother's household in Leonding, which now comprised the widow Klara Hitler, Adolf's sister Paula,* his well-to-do aunt Johanna Pölzl and their tenant Elisabeth Plockinger, he was the only male. By the time Klara Hitler sold the house in June 1905 and moved with Adolf and Paula to Linz,† Adolf had met Kubizek and become his friend.

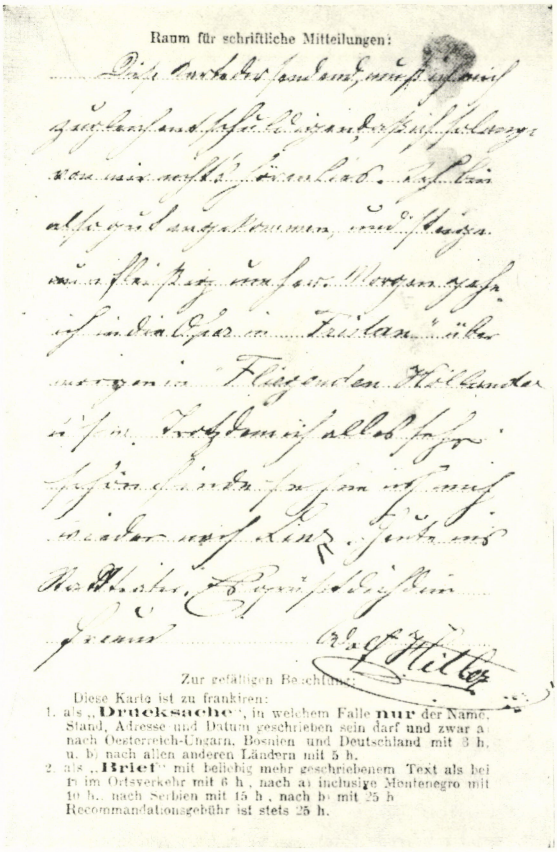
It took Kubizek many years to realize how little he really meant to the man whose sole friend he claimed to have been from 1904 to 1908.[5] 'Quite naturally,' he wrote in 1953, 'I meant much less to Adolf than he meant to me. My presence in Vienna probably kept reminding him of his straitened circumstances and his wretched youth.‡ True, my presence also reminded him of Stefanie, but what he liked best of all was that I was such a good listener. He could not have wished for a better audience, for his powers of persuasion were such that I quickly agreed with him even when I did not fully share his views. In any case, my opinions were of no importance to him – he only needed me because it would never have done to hold soliloquies on the old stone bench in Schönbrunn. When he was bursting with an idea until he simply had to give vent to it, he would use me as a soloist uses his instrument. It was this "instrumental character" of our relationship, so to speak, that made me more valuable to him than my modest accomplishments would have warranted.'[6]

Early in May 1906, when Hitler finally left for Vienna to find out what chances he had of gaining admission to the Academy, he was careful to keep in touch with his only disciple. Soon after his arrival, he sent Kubizek the following card:

* *Cf.* pp. 26f.

† Hitler's half-sister Angela had married the official Leo Raubal in 1903 and no longer lived with her parents.

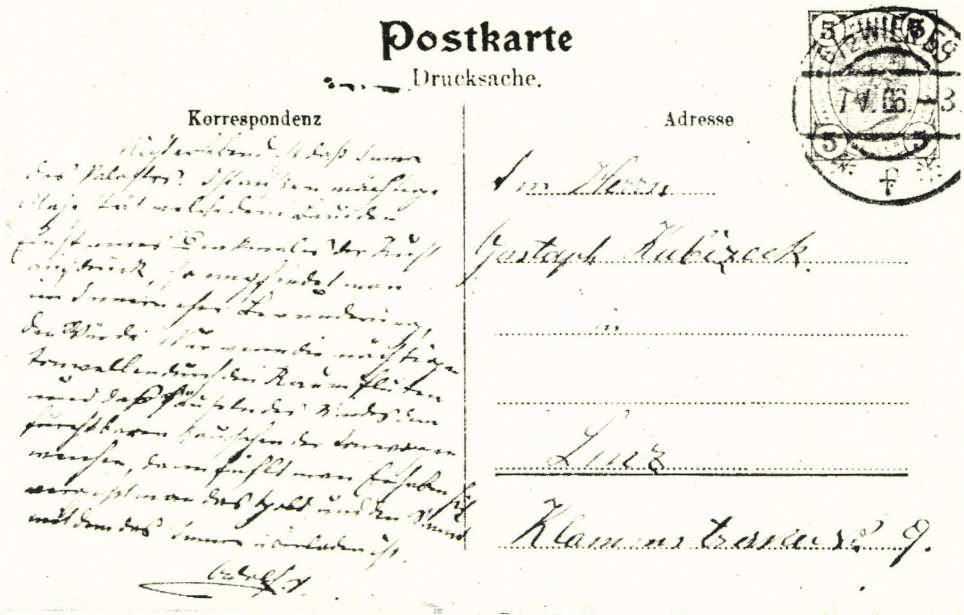
‡ A widespread misconception; see Maser: *Die Frühgeschichte der NSDAP*, 1965, pp. 44ff., and Maser: *Adolf Hitler, Legende-Mythes-Wirklichkeit*, 1971, pp. 51ff.


Raum für schriftliche Mitteilungen:

Diese Karte ist zu frankiren:
1. als „**Drucksache**", in welchem Falle **nur** der Name, Stand, Adresse und Datum geschrieben sein darf und zwar a nach Oesterreich-Ungarn, Bosnien und Deutschland mit 3 h, u. b) nach allen anderen Ländern mit 5 h.
2. als „**Brief**" mit beliebig mehr geschriebenem Text als bei 1: im Ortsverkehr mit 6 h, nach a) inclusive Montenegro mit 10 h, nach Serbien mit 15 h, nach b) mit 25 h
Recommandationsgebühr ist stets 25 h.

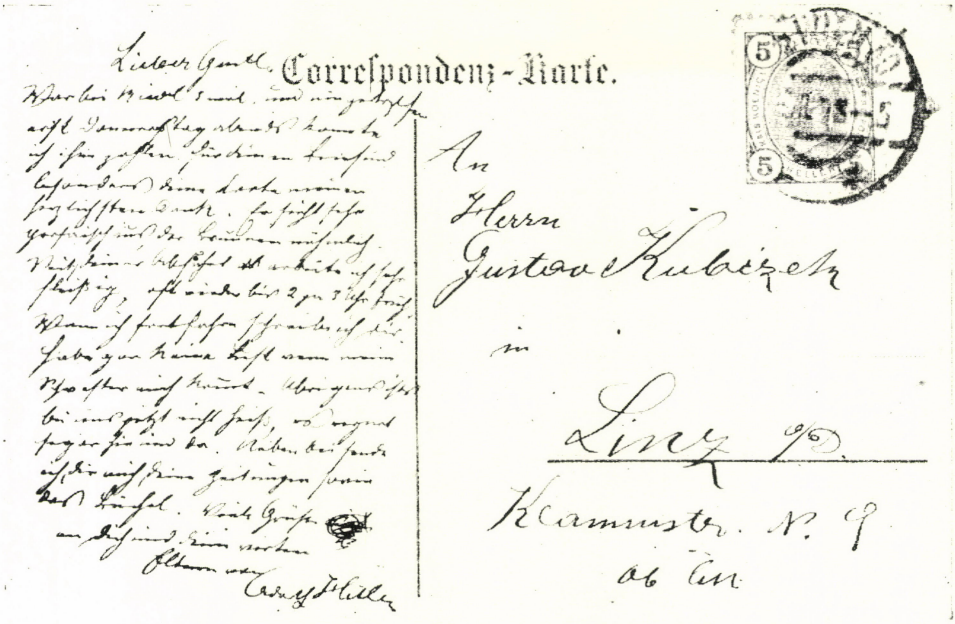
In sending you this card, I must apologize for my silence. I have arrived safely and am taking long walks. Tomorrow I am off to the Opera to see Tristan; the day after tomorrow to see the Flying Dutchman. Although everything is most exciting, I keep longing for Linz. Regards from your friend. Adolf Hitler

A few days later, on 7 May, 1906,[7] Hitler wrote another card to Kubizek, in which he set out his impressions of the Opera:



The interior is not very inspiring. While the majestic exterior lends the building the gravity of a monument of art the interior is rather ornate and gaudy. Only when the mighty sound-waves flood through the hall and the whistling of the wind makes way for the mighty roar of the tonal tides does one feel the nobility and forget the gold and the velvet with which the interior is so replete.

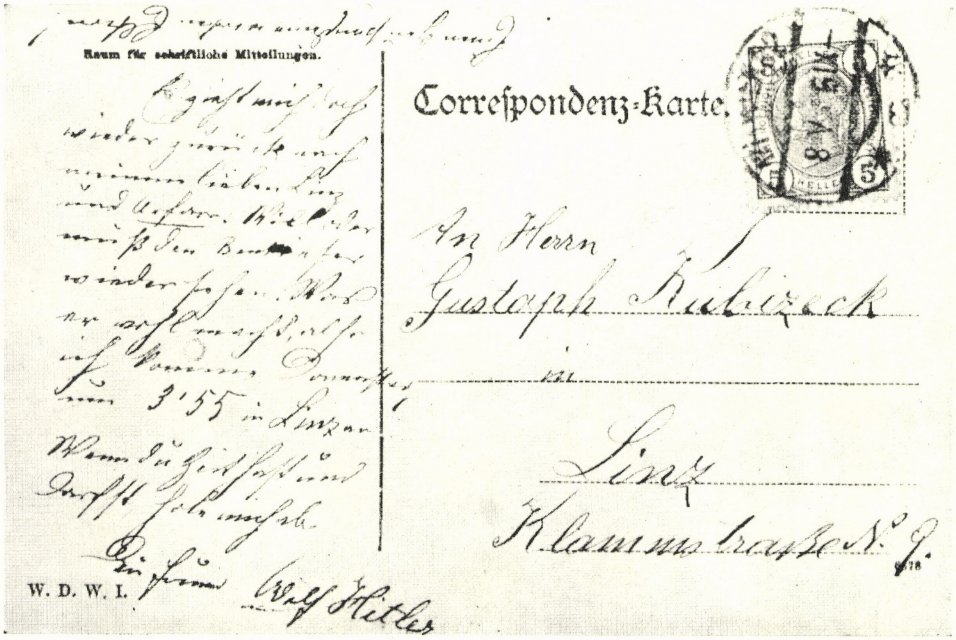
Adolf Hitler



Dear Gustl.
Went to Riedl's three times, and never met him,
I could only pay him on Thursday evening.
For your letter, and especially your [kind] words, many
thanks. In fact the fountain looks very prosaic.
Since your departure I have been working very
hard, often again until 2 or 3 in the morning.
If I should leave I will write to you. I don't feel
like it at all, if my sister comes too. By the
way, it isn't hot here now, it even rains from
time to time. I am also sending you your
papers as well as the book. Kind regards to
you and your esteemed parents

from
Adolf Hitler

But soon afterwards, Hitler began to feel homesick and decided to postpone his studies until the autumn of the following year. He accordingly sent Kubizek the following card:


Raum für schriftliche Mitteilungen.

Correspondenz-Karte.

An Herrn
Gustaph Kubizek

Linz

Klammstrasse N° 9.

W. D. W. I.

Regards to your esteemed parents!
I am longing for my beloved Linz and Urfahr.* I simply must see Benkieser† again. I wonder what he is doing? Well, I shall be arriving in Linz on Thursday at 3.55. If you have the time and feel like it please meet my train.

Your friend Adolf Hitler

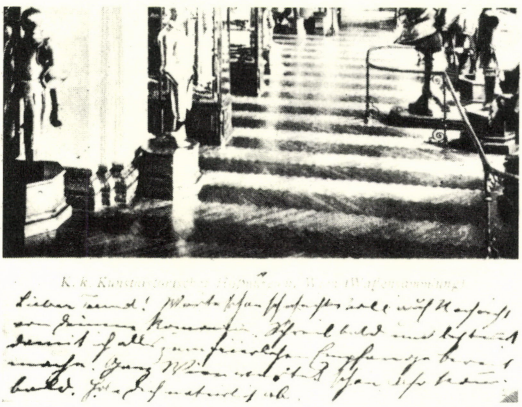
Back in Linz, Hitler took life easy, discussing major architectural and musical projects with Kubizek in preparation for the great day when he himself would be a famous artist. In September 1907, he felt that he was ready at last. He returned to Vienna, 'equipped with a thick wad of drawings', convinced that he would 'romp' through the entrance examinations of the Academy.‡ In the event, he was wrong.

* When Klara Hitler sold her house in Leonding in June 1905, she moved her family to Urfahr near Linz.
† Benkieser was the agreed 'code' name for Stefanie.
‡ Hitler, p. 18.

Of the 113 candidates, only 28 were found worthy of admission to the famous old institution, and Hitler was not one of them. He passed the first part of the examination – two free compositions – but he failed the second part – a test drawing. Thirty-three candidates had failed Part I, 52 had failed Part II. Hitler, whose compositions contained 'too few heads' (classification of the General School of Painting, 1905–1911) was advised by the rector to study architecture, for which, however, he lacked the necessary schooling. Deeply disappointed and depressed, he returned to Urfahr in November 1907 to look after his dying mother.

For the first time in his life, Adolf Hitler did serious work: he kept house, supervised the homework of his sister Paula, washed up, cleaned the floors, and cooked for the whole family.

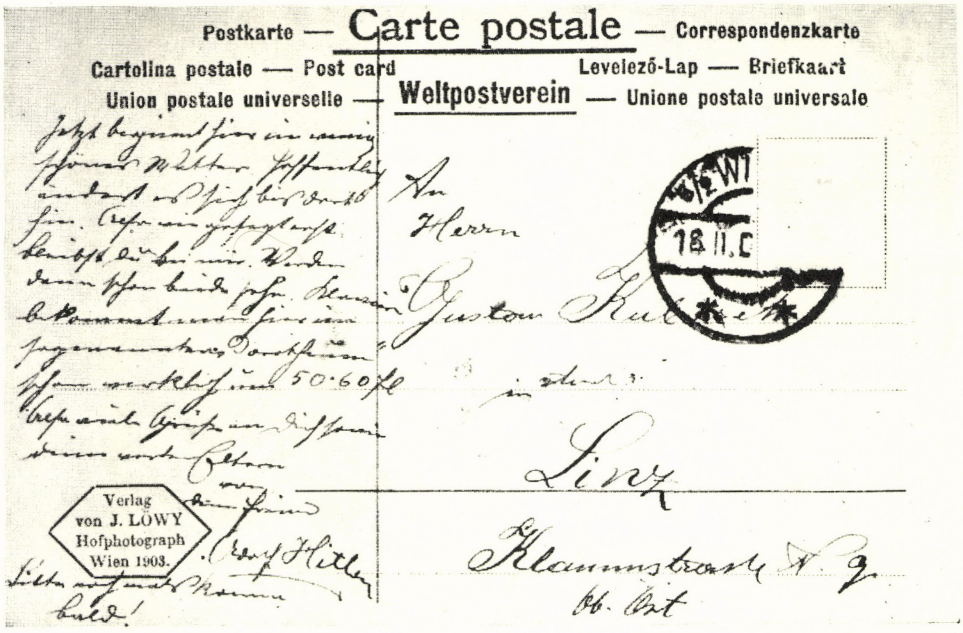
A few weeks later, his mother died, and shortly before Christmas 1907, Hitler signed the probate certificate before the mayor of Leonding, his official guardian since his father's death. Soon afterwards – at the beginning of 1908 – he moved to Vienna 'for good', this time carrying a reassuring letter of recommendation* to his future teachers. But he soon felt lonely, and urged Kubizek to follow him to Vienna as soon as possible. Since the latter, too, was still a minor, and moreover in his father's employ, things were not nearly as simple as Hitler imagined.† On 18 February, 1908, he sent his friend the following rather imperious note:‡



* See p. 23.

† It is all the more remarkable that Hitler managed to convince Kubizek's parents that their son was exceptionally gifted, and had to study music in Vienna.

‡ Hitler's punctuation and spelling have been corrected by the (German) editor.



Dear Friend,

I am waiting impatiently for news of your arrival. Write soon so that I can prepare a festive reception. All Vienna awaits you. So come quickly. Naturally I shall meet your train. The weather is turning nasty. Let's hope it's going to change in time. Well, as I've said, first you will stay with me. Then we shall see. Pianos are readily available from the so-called Dorotheum, for a mere 50 to 60 fl. Kindest regards to you and your esteemed parents.

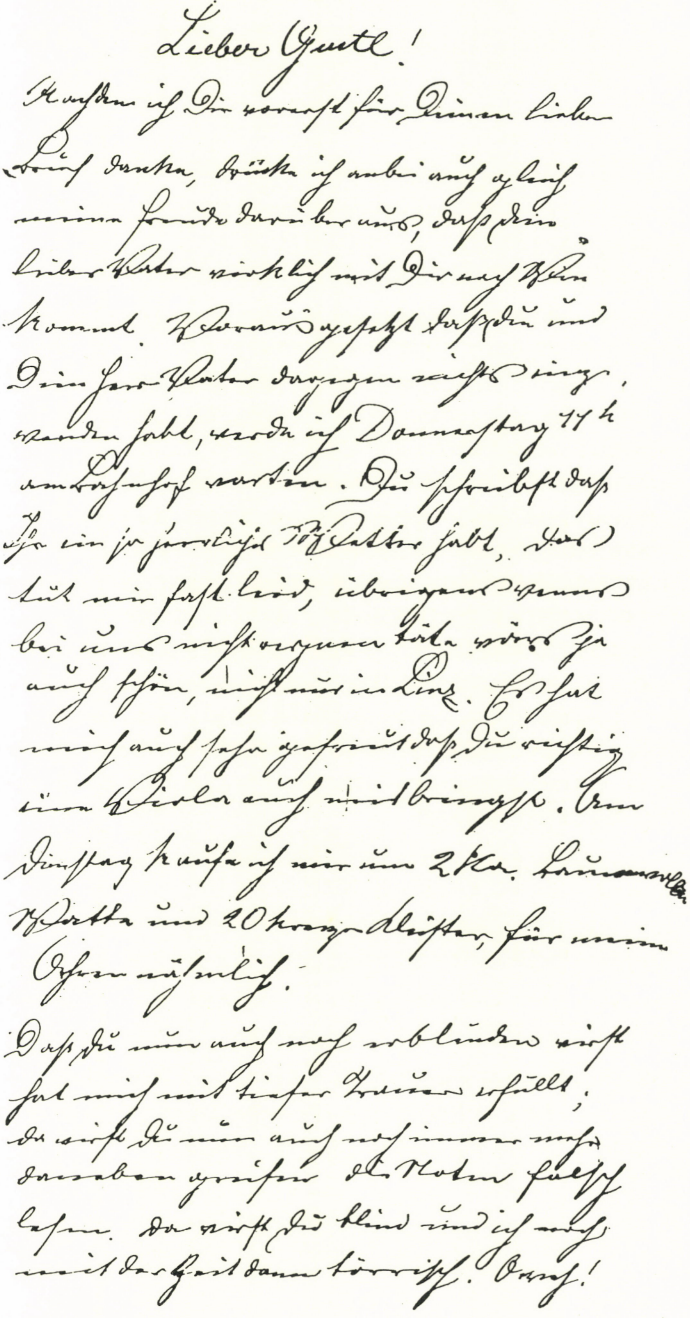
Your friend Adolf Hitler.

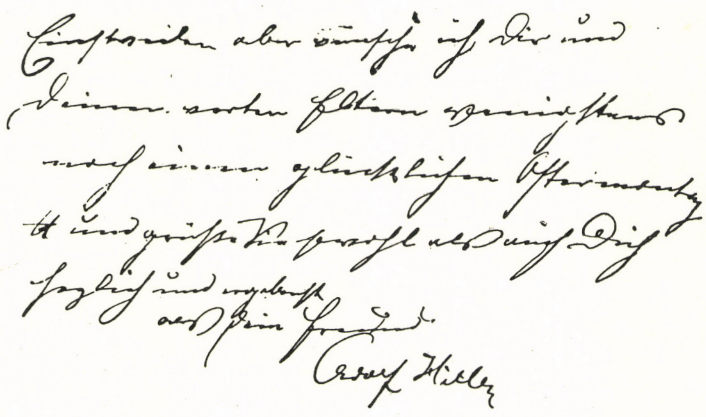
Once more, please come soon!

Whether or not Kubizek himself, for whom all Vienna was apparently waiting, was anxious to come was of small importance – Hitler simply wrote 'I am waiting impatiently', and left it at that.

'You write that you are having such glorious weather, that I am almost sorry about it,' Hitler informed Kubizek, who was spending the Easter holidays with his parents in Linz – probably on 18 or 19

April, 1908 – thus letting it slip that he put the well-being of even those he called his best friends second to his own. In the same letter he also produced an example of his callous black humour. Kubizek had told him that, as a result of conjunctivitis, he would probably have to wear glasses. In his reply, Hitler made cruel fun of his friend and his condition:





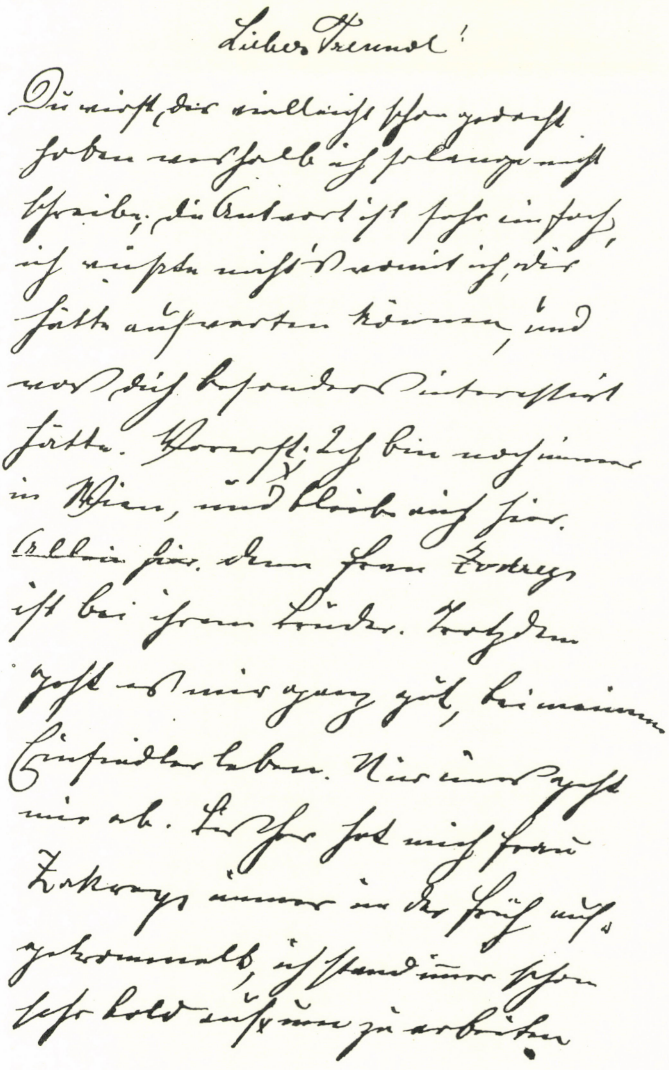
Dear Gustl,

Having first thanked you for your kind letter, I must tell you how delighted I am that your dear father is really coming to Vienna with you. If you and your father have no objections I shall meet you at the station on Thursday at 11. You write that you are having such glorious weather that I am almost sorry about it; incidentally if it weren't raining over here it would be glorious as well, not just in Linz. I am also glad to hear that you are bringing a viola with you. On Thursday I shall buy myself 2 crowns' worth of cottonwool and 20 pennyworth of wax to stop up my ears.

I am dreadfully sorry to hear that you are going blind – it means that you will keep missing your keys and mistaking your notes. And the blinder you get, the deafer I am bound to become. Oh dear! For the time being, I wish you and your dear parents a happy Easter Monday. Kind regards to you all,

Your friend Adolf Hitler.

'I could think of nothing special to serve up,' Hitler wrote in another letter, dated 17 July, 1908, quite oblivious of the fact that he did not always have to write exclusively about himself:



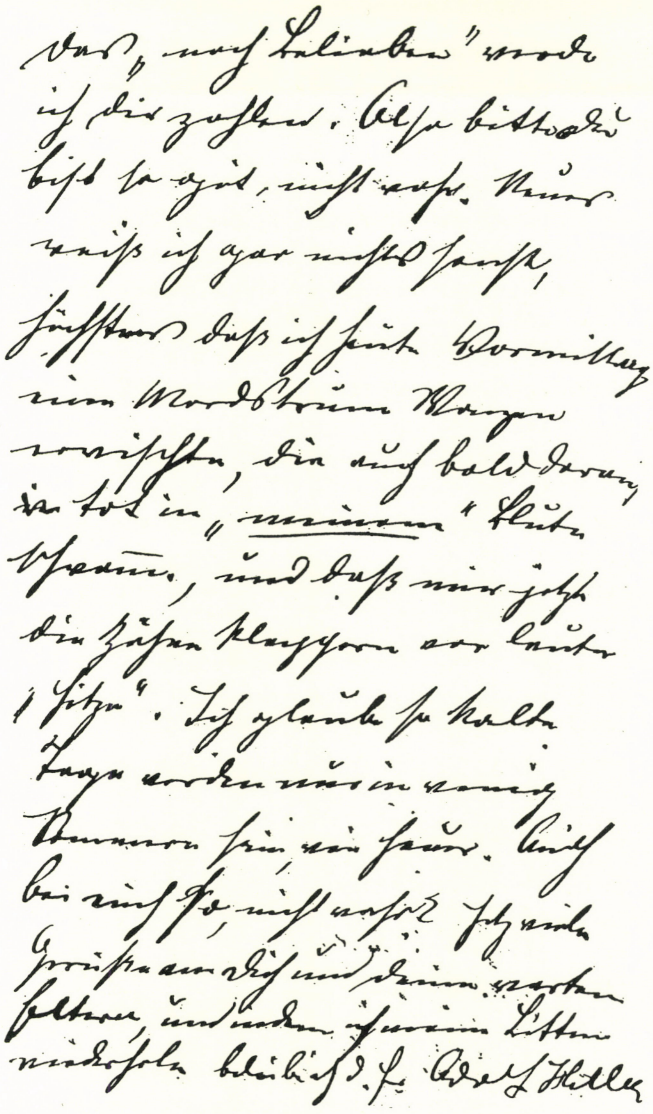
Dear Friend

You have probably been wondering why I have not written to you for so long. The answer is quite simple: I could think of nothing special to serve up, of nothing you would find of particular interest.
To begin with, I am still in Vienna and I am staying on. On my own, because Frau Zakreys* is at her brother's.

* His landlady.

Still, I am quite enjoying my hermit's life. I'm only missing one thing. Frau Zakrey has always drummed me up early in the morning, so that I could set to work. Now I am left to my own devices. Is there nothing new in Linz? One hears nothing at all about the theatre project. Do send me a picture postcard as soon as the bank is finished. And now I have a further two requests. First of all, would you be kind enough to buy me the *Guide to Linz on the Danube*, not the one published by Wöhrl but the real Linz guide published by Krakowitzer. The cover shows a woman in Linz dress with Linz from the Danube side and the bridge and castle in the background. It costs 60 Heller, which I enclose in stamps. Please send it to me straight away, post paid or collect. And please make sure that the timetable of the steamship company and the town map are included. I need a few figures which I have forgotten and cannot find in the Wöhrl. And then I would ask you, when next you take the steamer, to pick up the new timetable, just as you did for this season. I shall pay you in due course, but please help me out in the meantime. I have no other news, except perhaps to tell you that I caught a murderous gang of bed bugs this morning and that they were quickly floating dead in 'my own' blood and that my teeth are now chattering with the 'heat'. I don't think many summers have such cold days as this one. It's the same in your part, I suppose. Kindest regards to you and your respected parents. May I repeat my requests to you and remain

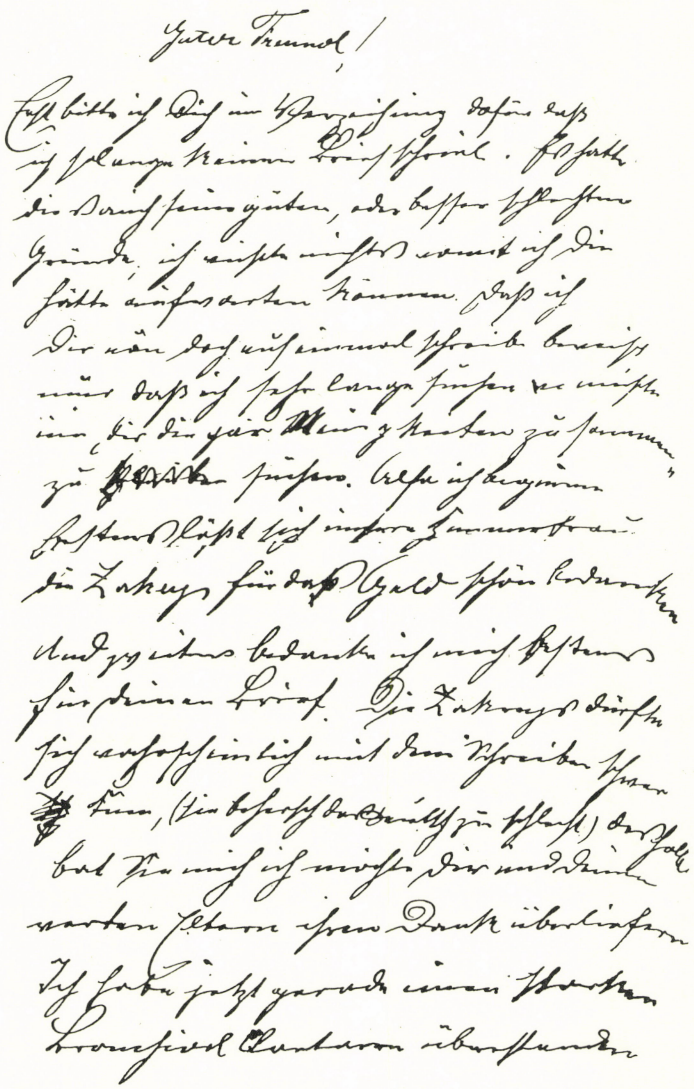
Your friend Adolf Hitler.

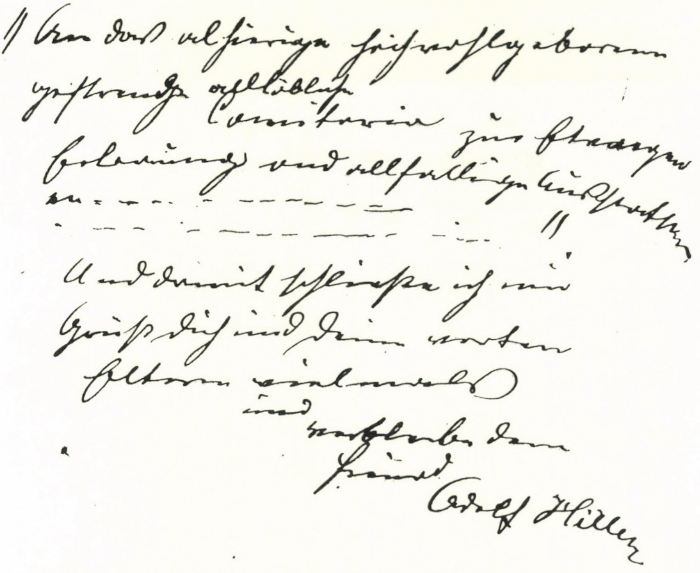


In the last letter Hitler wrote to Kubizek shortly before he went into hiding at Felberstrasse 22* (Hitler was dodging conscription in the Austrian Army) he did not so much as hint about his intended removal from the room he was sharing with Kubizek, though his friend was

* See p. 37.

bound to be financially embarrassed when he found that Hitler had done a moonlight flit, while he, Kubizek, was away on army manoeuvres. All Hitler saw fit to write was this:





Dear Friend,

First of all I must apologize for not having written to you for so long. I had good, or rather bad, reasons, for there was nothing of interest to tell you. That I am nevertheless writing now merely proves how much time I have spent scraping some news together. Well let me begin. First of all, our landlady Frau Zakreys thanks you for the money, and secondly I thank you for your letter. Frau Zakreys probably finds writing very hard, what with her poor German, and so she asked me to thank you and your esteemed parents on her behalf. I have just got over a nasty bout of bronchitis . . . Who was the publisher of the newspaper I sent you last time? I paid the subscription long ago. Do you have any other details? The weather here is most pleasant; it is raining a great deal and what with the heatwave we have been having this is a great blessing. Unfortunately, I shall not be able to enjoy it for long. I shall probably be leaving on Saturday. Will keep you fully informed. I am writing quite a lot these days, usually in the afternoons and evenings. Have you read the latest decision by the Municipal Council about the new theatre? I think they are trying to paper over the old cracks. But they won't be able to, the

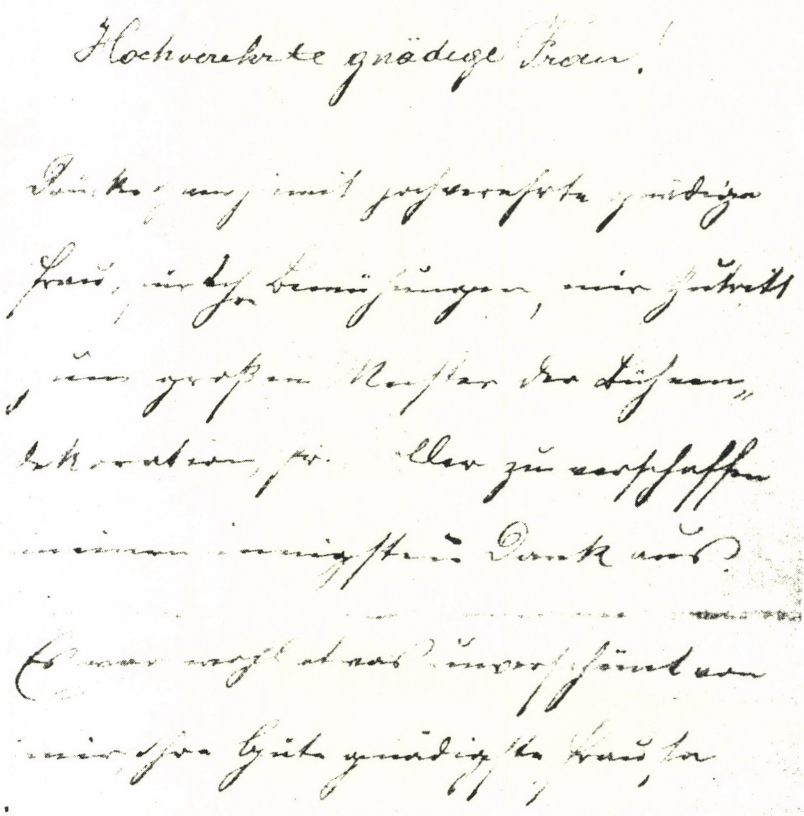
> authorities won't let them. – In any case, all their phrase-mongering merely shows that these most august and exalted men know as much about building a theatre as a hippopotamus knows about playing the violin. If my textbook of architecture wasn't so thumbed, I should wrap it up and send it off to the appropriate theatre-foundation-society-building-plan-committee with the following address: 'To the Right Honourable, Most Gracious, Most Worshipful Committee for the Eventual Construction and Overdue Appointment of the Local Theatre'.
>
> And with this I must close. Kindest regards to your esteemed parents,
>
> Your friend Adolf Hitler.

His correspondence with Kubizek shows that young Hitler bothered neither with spelling nor with punctuation. His approach to both was completely free and easy, and so, incidentally, was that of many artists and architects, who quite often based their punctuation and spelling on what they thought would look best. Hitler, who went to the theatre on most nights from 1904 to 1908, kept spelling 'theatre' without an 'h', wrote 'nähmlich' instead of nämlich (namely), 'dan' instead of dann (then), 'dass' instead of das (which), 'gieng' instead of ging (went) and 'lies' instead of liess (allowed). Ten years later, for instance when writing the 100-page notes for his speeches, he still mis-spelled many words that he knew how to write correctly, for example, Bolshewismuss, Sozialismuss, Liberalismuss, Zarismuss, Darwinismuss, Koruption. That he could write correctly even during his stay in Vienna is shown by the fact that whenever he was trying to make a good impression he made no mistakes. His handwriting, too, reflected his attitude to those he was addressing: whenever he took care about his spelling, he also wrote a good hand, but not otherwise. Whether his cavalier attitude was due to carelessness or to rebelliousness against rules that struck him as being quite pointless, or again to show some of his correspondents that he lived and wrote as he pleased, is difficult to decide. However, the fact that his spelling was affected by his attitude to his correspondents is borne out particularly by the letters he wrote from the field during the First World War,* for though

* *Cf.* pp. 43ff.

they were unusually long and full of foreign concepts and place names, and though at the front he could not always consult a grammar or dictionary, these letters contained far fewer spelling mistakes than his brief pre-war letters to Kubizek.

Much earlier, in September 1907, when his attempts to enter the School of Painting attached to the Vienna Academy of Arts and the School of Architecture[8] both failed, and he was therefore forced to accept help from strangers, he also proved that he could spell almost perfectly when he saw fit to do so.* Thus when his former landlady in Linz promised him early in 1908 to ask her mother to intervene on his behalf with an acquaintance, the famous stage designer Alfred Roller of the Vienna School of Applied Art (now Academy of Applied Art), and when the old lady did as she was asked and Hitler was received by Roller, he wrote her a courteous and humble letter of thanks:



* The only spelling mistakes in the next letter are 'ehrerbitig' (instead of 'ehrerbietig' = respectfully) and 'umso mehr' (instead of 'unsomehr' = all the more).

stark in Anspruch zu nehmen, so
bin ich doch einem für Sie ganz fremden
Herrn verpflichtet. Ihnen muss ich aber bitten
ich auf meinen innigsten Dank
für Ihre Schrift, die von solchem Erfolge
begleitet waren, sowie für die Karte
welche mir gnädigst Frau Liebenberg
zur Verfügung stellten entgegennehmen
zu wollen. Ich werde voraussichtlich Mitte
Oktober selbst Gelegenheit haben
Ihnen persönlich meinen tiefgefühltesten
Dank auch dir gegenüber mit
vorzüglicher Hochachtung
Adolf Hitler

Wien den 10/III 09.

Dear Madam,

May I express my sincerest thanks for your efforts in gaining me admission to the great master of stage design, Professor Roller. It was no doubt impudent of me, a mere stranger, to presume so much on your great kindness. I beg you all the more to accept my deepest thanks for your intervention which proved so successful, and also for the card you so kindly placed at my disposal. I shall make immediate use of this happy chance.

Once again my deepest thanks.

Yours respectfully,

Adolf Hitler.

The correspondence between this lady and her daughter* shows how little Hitler's landlady, an open-minded woman with artistic tastes, really knew about her 19-year-old lodger with whom, as she told her mother, she had many lengthy conversations and whom she described as polite, respectable, refined, ambitious, talented, educated, shy, reserved and cultured. She only 'knew' what Hitler had deliberately let 'slip out'.

How strange and secretive a person Hitler was even in his youth, and how little even Kubizek knew about his friend† may also be gathered from the fact that Kubizek never had the least inkling about the true state of Hitler's finances during the many years he knew him in Linz and Vienna. Thus he wrote in 1953, 'I told my mother how poor my friend was and that he often went hungry.'[10] He completely misinterpreted Hitler's postcard of 19 July, 1908, which stated *inter alia*: 'My sincerest thanks for your great kindness. There is no need to send me butter and cheese. But I am sincerely grateful for your thoughtfulness',[11] when he declared: 'Hitler refused the gift because he was ashamed of his own poverty and was determined to make his own way . . .'[12] In fact, Hitler had kept him in the dark, twisting the facts much as he did sixteen years later when he wrote in *Mein Kampf*: 'Poverty and hard reality now forced me to make a quick decision. Most of my father's small legacy had been exhausted by my mother's grave illness, my orphan's pension was not enough to live on, and so I was faced with the problem of making my own living as best I

* A copy of the correspondence is in the author's possession.

† *Cf.* p. 5.

could.'[13] In fact, his father's 'small legacy' had been far from 'exhausted' when Hitler moved to Vienna in 1908; moreover during that very year he also drew a fairly substantial sum from his mother's estate. In June 1905, two and a half years before her death, Klara Hitler had sold her house in Leonding for 10,000 crowns,[14] which, after repayment of the outstanding mortgage, had left her with 7,480 crowns. She set aside 1,304 Austrian crowns each for Adolf and Paula,[15] which left her with 5,500 Austrian crowns, a far from negligible amount. In addition, she drew a widow's pension of 1,200 crowns per annum which, added to the 220 crowns or more she received as interest for the capital she was able to invest from the sale of her house, left her with a larger income than she, Adolf and Paula actually needed. Furthermore, Klara Hitler probably had a fairly large income from the estate of her childless and well-to-do aunt, Walpurga Hitler, in Spital,[16] who in a handwritten will, drawn up by the clerk of Weitra Court,[17] left her entire estate to her sister Johanna, born in 1830. In case Johanna should predecease her, the estate was to be divided between Johanna's daughters Klara, Johanna and Theresia.* When Johanna, Walpurga's sole heir, died on 8 February, 1906, the estate fell to her three daughters, and when Klara, Adolf's mother, died in her turn in December 1907, her share fell to Adolf and Paula Hitler, who also enjoyed 58 crowns a month each from their father's estate in addition to the 25 crowns orphan's allowance to which they were entitled by the Austrian Pension Law of 1896. Finally, when his aunt Johanna Pölzl died in 1911, and left 3,800 crowns, Adolf came into another large sum, so that he was anything but the impecunious and starving young man Kubizek imagined him to be. In fact, at the time, a young lawyer earned 70 crowns a month, a young primary-school teacher 66 crowns, a post-office clerk 60 crowns, and a high-school teacher 82 crowns,[18] so that Hitler's 'hard' days in Vienna were a pure invention.

On 10 February, 1908, Hitler had written to the Linz Revenue Office asking for an orphan's allowance for both himself and his sister Paula whom he – deliberately or mistakenly – made two years younger than she really was:

* The part of Walpurga Hitler's last will dealing with these requests is in the possession of Theresia's son Anton Schmidt, who kindly lent it to the author in 1969.

Hohe k.k. Finanz Direktion!

Die gefertigten Ehegatten bitten hiemit um gütige Verfügung der ihnen gebührenden Witwen- und Waisenpension. Laut beigeschlossenen Militär-Verlassenschafts-Abhandlungs-Akt ddto 24 Dezember 1907 ihres Sohnes, sind somit ganz unversorgt, mittellos und dürftig, sich ihren Unterhalt selbst zu verdienen. Die Vormundschaft über beide beschäftslose, von dem Adolf Hitler am 20 April 1889 zu Braunau a/I, Paula Hitler am 21 Juni 1891 zu Fischlham b. Lambach Ob. Öst. geboren ist, führt Herr Josef Mayrhofer in Leonding b. Linz. Beide Geschäftslose sind nach Linz zuständig. Ehrerbietigst ihre Bitte gefertigt will

Adolf Hitler Paula Hitler

Urfahr am 10 Februar 1908

Dear Sirs,

The undersigned beg respectfully for a remittance of the orphans' allowance due to them. Both petitioners, who lost their mother, the widow of a Royal Customs Inspector on 21 December 1907, are full orphans, minors, and unable to fend for themselves. The guardian of both petitioners, of whom Adolf Hitler was born on 20 April 1889 at Braunau am Inn and Paula Hitler on 21 January 1898 at Fischlharn near Lambach Upper Austria, is Herr Joseph Mayrhofer of Leonding near Linz. Both petitioners are registered in Linz. The petition is signed respectfully by

Adolf Hitler. Paula Hitler.

Urfahr, 10 February, 1908.

At the beginning of 1911, Hitler, then 22 years old and entitled by law to draw his orphan's pension until 19 April, 1913, signed over his allowance of 25 crowns per month to his sister Paula before the Linz district court on the grounds that he could now maintain himself[19] by selling his pictures with the help of Reinhold Harnich, a vagrant he had met during a brief stay in a casual ward. In fact, this act of generosity caused him little hardship, for his unmarried aunt Johanna Pölzl had suddenly died in March 1911, leaving him – her great favourite – a considerable sum.*

Two of Hitler's early drawings – a portrait of Wallenstein made shortly before he left the elementary school in Leonding and a cartoon drawn a few months later when he had begun to attend the High School in Linz – reflect his attitude to the two types of school, as do various snapshots of the contented Grade IV pupil of the Leonding school and the unhappy First Former of Linz High School.[9]

The Wallenstein drawing dated 26 March, 1900, when Hitler was eleven, shows that, at the time, he still had few problems and was at peace with himself and the world. The cartoon he drew of one of his High School teachers was, by contrast, anything but peaceful: it showed his dislike of the new school no less than the contempt in which he held his teachers. The arrogant and overbearing man is drawn with the corners of his mouth pulled down, his brows furrowed, his cold little eyes squinting, and his remoteness emphasized by his formal suit with its ridiculously stiff collar. As a finishing touch, the

* *Cf.* p. 26.



11-year-old Hitler had sardonically placed an ice-cream cone – a symbol of infantilism – between the teacher's rigid fingers.

Hitler's last letter to Kubizek, written in the summer of 1908, was also his last private letter before the war, and there were good reasons for his silence: the Austrian authorities were looking for him.[22] In *Mein Kampf* he alleged that he had refused to report for military service because his Pan-Germanic outlook would not allow him to mingle with a motley collection of various nationalities, including even Jews. Hence, when Hitler, who successfully eluded the Austrian authorities from August to December 1909 by sudden changes of address and even by the brief stay in a casual ward, claimed that he left Austria 'in the spring of 1912'[23] for 'political reasons'[24] he was partly telling the truth (he did not, in fact, leave until May 1913).[25] Some six months later, the Austrians caught up with him, and on 29 December, 1913 they sent the following appeal to the Munich



police: 'The painter Adolf Hitler, born 1889 in Braunau am Inn. moved from Vienna to Munich on 24 May, 1913. You would greatly oblige us . . . if you let us know whether the above-named has registered with you.'[26] The Munich police discovered him, and on 10 January, 1914, informed their colleagues in Linz that 'the wanted person has been registered since 26.5.1913 as a tenant of Popp, Schleissheimer Strasse 34/111'.[27] Eight days later, Hitler was notified by the Munich police to report for military service in Linz on 20 January. On 19 January the police escorted him to the Austrian consulate in Munich, where Hitler displayed so much diplomatic skill that both the police and the consulate decided not to repatriate him to Austria.[28] Instead he was to report in Linz on 5 February, 1914.[29] Hitler then applied to Linz for an extension by telegram, and when this was refused he applied for permission to register in Salzburg, which was closer to Munich than Linz, on the following, most revealing, grounds:

To Linz Municipality, Division II.

On Sunday the 18th at 3.30 p.m. Police-Officer Herle, Rottmanstrasse 14/II handed me a summons to report for military service in Linz on the 20th, failing which I would become liable to prosecution under Sections 64 and 66 of the Army Act.

If I was surprised by the manner in which the order was served – such summonses, the consulate tells me, are normally served by the consular authorities – I was completely taken aback by the impossibly short time I was given to settle my affairs.

Since everything is closed on Sundays and since on Mondays, as on all weekdays following a holiday, German businesses do not open until 9.0 a.m. and offices (including government departments) not until 10.0 a.m., and since I would have had to leave by the afternoon, I would not have had enough time to see to even such simple personal matters as taking a bath.

The main reason, however, which prevented me from heeding the summons was that, within the brief span of less than 6 hours, I could not possibly raise enough money for the fare, a considerable sum for a man in my circumstances.

In the summons I am described as a painter. Though I do bear this title, it is not wholly correct. I admittedly earn my keep as an independent painter, but only so that, being without any private means (my father was a state official), I can continue my education. I can only spend a fraction of my time on earning my living because I am still training to become an architectural painter. As a result my income is very modest indeed – just enough to keep me alive.

In support of this statement, I enclose my income tax returns and would ask you to be kind enough to let me have them back. My income is shown to be 1,200 marks, which is somewhat exaggerated and in any case does not mean that I earn 100 marks every month. On the contrary, my monthly income fluctuates a great deal and at the moment it is very bad indeed, because the Munich art business has gone into hibernation and there are some 3,000 artists who live or rather try to live here. There can be no question of saving in these circumstances, the less so as my expenses are considerably greater than, say, those of a worker in the same financial position.

I therefore beg you to appreciate that I could not possibly heed your summons within the brief span of less than half a day you allowed me.

Early on Monday I applied to the consulate for advice and at the suggestion of the consular official I sent you a telegraphic appeal for a postponement. I did not receive news of your negative reply until today, the 21st at 9.0 a.m.

Now, I do not wish to deny that to some extent I am culpable in several respects. Thus I omitted to register in the autumn of 1909, but made up for this omission in February 1910, when I reported to Conscription Office IB in the Vienna City Hall and was referred to District XX in which I am officially domiciled. There I asked for permission to report in Vienna, was told to sign a petition or protocol, to pay one crown, and never heard any more. The idea of avoiding conscription never even occurred to me, and I must stress that this is not the reason why I am now in Munich. I always registered my address in Vienna, am registered here, and moreover have kept in contact with the Linz District Court, my tutelary authority. My address could easily have been obtained from them.

I was all the more taken aback by this summons, whose very form, no less than the manner in which it was served on me, suggest that I had deliberately refused to heed similar summonses in the past. As for my omission in the autumn of 1909, I can only plead that I had fallen on very bad times. I was an inexperienced young man without any financial resources and much too proud to accept help from strangers, let alone ask for it. Without any support, and completely alone, what few crowns and often few hellers I received for my work were barely enough to pay for my bed. For two years my only companions were sorrow, poverty and constant hunger. I have never learned the meaning of the beautiful word 'youth', and even today, five years later, I still carry the memory of those days in the form of frostbites on my fingers and toes. And yet, now that I am over the worst, I cannot help thinking of those days with some pleasure. Despite cruel poverty in what were often dubious surroundings, I have always kept my name decent and completely spotless before the law and before my own conscience – apart from my failure to report for military service, a duty of which I was not aware at the time. This is the only thing for which I feel guilty, and a small fine, that I shall not refuse to pay, ought to be sufficient punishment.

I am sending this letter independently of a deposition I have signed at the consulate this day. May I beg you to convey all further instructions through the consulate and to believe me that I will heed

them punctiliously. Finally, my answers to the questionnaire attached to the summons will all be confirmed by the consular authorities. The latter were most magnanimous and filled me with the hope that I might report in Salzburg. Though I hardly dare continue to entertain this hope now. I beg you not to make things unnecessarily difficult for me.

I beg you humbly to take cognizance of the contents of this letter and remain

Yours faithfully,
Adolf Hitler,
Painter
Munich,
Schleissheimerstrasse 34/III.[30]

Hitler, who 'hardly dared continue to hope' that the Austrian authorities would grant his request, was lucky twice over. To begin with he was given permission to report in Salzburg, and when he did so on 5 February, 1914, he was rejected as unfit. 'I hereby confirm,' the Registrar of the Upper Austrian Military Examination Board declared on 23 February, 1932 'that Adolf Hitler, born on 20 April, 1889, in Braunau am Inn and resident in Linz, Upper Austria, son of Alois and Klara, née Pölzl, was, during the final registration muster of class III in Salzburg, on 5 February, 1914, found unfit for military and auxiliary service.'[31]

As a result, Hitler, whose financial position was not at all what he had made it out to be, was also freed from his other anxieties. No wonder, therefore, that he described his stay in Munich as among the 'happiest and most satisfying days of my life'.[32] As in Vienna, he continued to draw and paint historical and other monuments from photographs and books – he was much too comfort-loving to stand about in the streets and draw from life. Incidentally, in August 1910, while he was still on the run, he was rash enough to appear at the Brigittenau Commissariat of the Vienna police, where he laid a charge against Hanisch[20] for cheating him over the sale of a picture, as a result of which Hanisch was sentenced to seven days' imprisonment.[21] The object of Hitler's complaint was a water-colour of the Parliament building in Vienna.

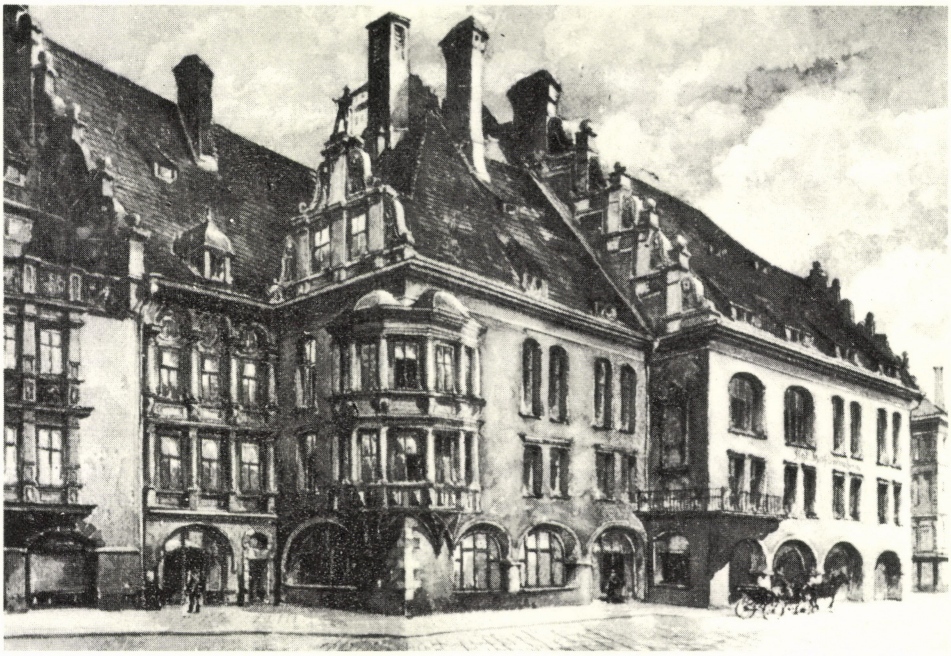


This water-colour of the Parliament building in Vienna, though retouched, is typical of Hitler's earlier work.

When Hitler moved from Vienna to Munich, not only did his architectural subjects change* – in Munich, as he explained in 1924, he was greatly impressed by the 'wonderful marriage of native strength with . . . artistic mood, the single line from the Hofbräuhaus to the Odeon, from the Oktoberfest to the Pinakothek . . .'[33] but his sales method changed as well. In Vienna, most of his pictures had been bought by Jewish dealers, and sold to Jewish businessmen, doctors and lawyers;[34] in Munich, once his problems with the Austrian authorities had been resolved, he was able to exhibit and sell his work in such leading galleries as Stuffle's in Maximilian Platz.[35] True, he continued to dream of becoming an architect one day, but his life-style had altered: he now had a large circle of new friends with whom he was to correspond busily from the front.*

* One of Hitler's best-known Munich drawings was of the Hofbräuhaus on the Platzl. It too was based on a print.

† See pp. 55ff.



Above: 'Hofbräuhaus am Platzl.' Water-colour by Adolf Hitler (1913).



Below: 'Hofbräuhaus am Platzl.' Coloured postcard published by August Lengauer.

Chronological Summary

May 1895: Adolf Hitler enters the single-class elementary school in Fischlham near Lambach.

1896–1897: Having sold his property in Hafeld in July 1897, Alois Hitler (Adolf's father) moves to Lambach am Traun, where Adolf becomes a Grade II pupil in the Benedictine school.

1897–1898: Grade III pupil in the Benedictine school. Member of the boys' choir and server.

November 1898: Alois Hitler buys a property in Leonding near Linz, where he moves his family in February 1899. Adolf becomes a Grade IV pupil in the local elementary school.

1899–1900: Joins Grade V of the local elementary school.

September 1900: First-form pupil in the Linz High School (*Realschule*).

1901–1902: Repeats Form I.

1902–1903: Joins Form II.

3 Jan. 1903: Death of Alois Hitler.

1903–1904: Joins Form III of the Linz High School.

1904–1905: Joins Form IV of the State High School in Steyr.

June 1905: Adolf's mother sells her house in Leonding and moves with Adolf and Paula to Humboldstrasse 31, Linz.

Autumn 1905: On the advice of the family physician, Adolf leaves school because of a lung condition. In the spring of 1906, he moves to his relatives in Spital.

May–June 1906: First visit to Vienna.

October 1906–January 1907: Hitler takes piano lessons from the retired military music teacher Prewazki-Wendt.

September 1907: 113 candidates, including Adolf Hitler, take the entrance examination of the General School of Painting in the Academy of Arts, Schillerplatz, Vienna. 33 candidates fail the composition test constituting the first part of the examination. Hitler passes the test but with 51 other candidates fails the drawing test. Only 28 candidates are admitted to the school.

November 1907: Adolf's mother seriously ill in Linz-Urfahr. Adolf returns to Linz to look after her.

21 Dec., 1907: Death of Klara Hitler, who is buried on 23 December, 1907, in Leonding.

February 1908: Adolf Hitler, having settled his mother's affairs, moves to Vienna and for a few months lodges in Stumpergasse 29, sharing his rooms with August Kubizek, a music student and friend from Linz. After meeting the stage designer Prof. Alfred Roller, Hitler takes private lessons from the sculptor Panholzer.

September 1908: Adolf Hitler takes another entrance examination to the Academy of Arts. This time, his composition is unsatisfactory so that he is not even admitted to the drawing test.
Too ashamed to meet Kubizek after this failure, he leaves their common rooms and moves to Felbertstrasse 22/III on 18 November, 1908. Neither Kubizek, who was away on military exercises, nor the Austrian authorities, to whom he has failed to report in accordance with the Austrian Military Act of 11 April, 1889, can trace him.

August 1909: Hitler keeps changing his address. On 20 August he takes a room in Sechshauser Strasse 58/II, where he stays until 16 September.

16 Sept., 1909: Hitler moves to Simon-Denk-Gasse, where he stays until the end of November 1909.

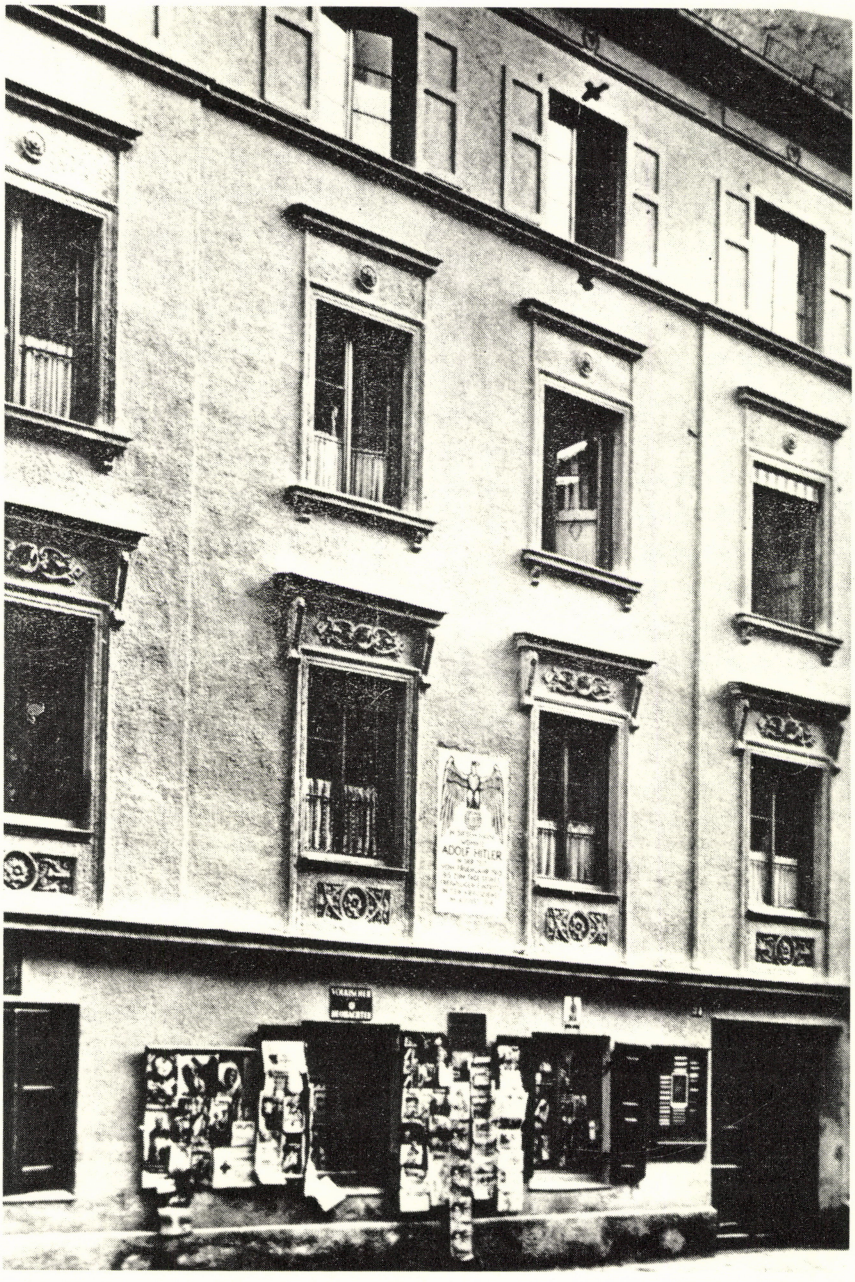
December 1909: Hitler spends a few nights in the Meidling casual ward and, according to *Mein Kampf* (pp. 20 and 40 ff.), does casual work on a building site (there is no supporting evidence for this claim). In December 1909 he moves to the Vienna Men's Hostel in Meldemannstrasse 27, where he pays 50 heller per day (100 heller = 1 crown) for a cubicle. The other inmates are retired officers (including staff officers), businessmen, clerks, officials, small traders, workers and a host of misfits.

24 May, 1913: Hitler leaves Vienna for Munich, where he rents a room with a separate entrance in Schleissheimer Strasse 34 from Master-Tailor Josef Popp.

19 Jan., 1914: Hitler is escorted to the Austrian consulate by the Munich police.



The elementary school in Fischlham. Here Hitler learned to read and write from 1895 to 1896. In 1939, he paid a visit to the school, sat on 'his' old bench, bought the school, and put up a new building.



Schleissheimer Strasse 34, where Hitler rented a room from Master-Tailor Popp from May 1913 to August 1914 (cross above his window on the third floor). The plaque (which was removed in 1945) read 'Adolf Hitler lived here from the spring of 1912 until he volunteered for military service in August 1914'. This agreed with Hitler's own claim in *Mein Kampf* but not with the facts.

CHAPTER TWO

Munich and the First World War

With the same determination and ingenuity that Hitler had shirked military service in Austria from 1909 to 1913, he hastened 'to the German colours' on 16 August, 1914. In *Mein Kampf* he wrote that 'even as a boy I was no "pacifist" and all attempts to educate me in that direction came to nothing . . . To me, those hours (the outbreak of war) seemed like release from the painful feelings of youth. I am not ashamed to admit even today that, gripped by wild enthusiasm, I fell to my knees and thanked Heaven from an overflowing heart for granting me the good fortune of being allowed to live at this time. A fight for freedom had begun, greater than the world had ever seen.'[36]

His general behaviour no less than his letters from the field make it clear that he was not lying when he wrote ten years later: 'As a boy and young man I had so often felt the desire to prove at least once in deeds that my national fervour was no empty whim. It often seemed to me almost sinful to shout hurrah without perhaps having the inner right to do so; for who was entitled to use this word without having proved it in the place where all play-acting has stopped and the inexorable hand of the Goddess of Destiny begins to weigh people and men according to the truth and steadfastness of their convictions? Thus my heart, like that of millions of others, overflowed with proud joy that at last I would be able to free myself of this paralysing feeling. I had so often sung "Deutschland über alles" and shouted "Heil" at the top of my lungs that it seemed to me almost a belated act of grace to be allowed to stand as a witness in the divine court of the eternal judge, and proclaim the sincerity of this conviction. For I was convinced from the first hour that in the case of war – which seemed to me inevitable – in one way or another, I would at once leave my books. Likewise I knew that my place would then be where my inner voice directed me.'[37]

A graphological analysis of a letter Hitler wrote* in February 1915 included the following comments:

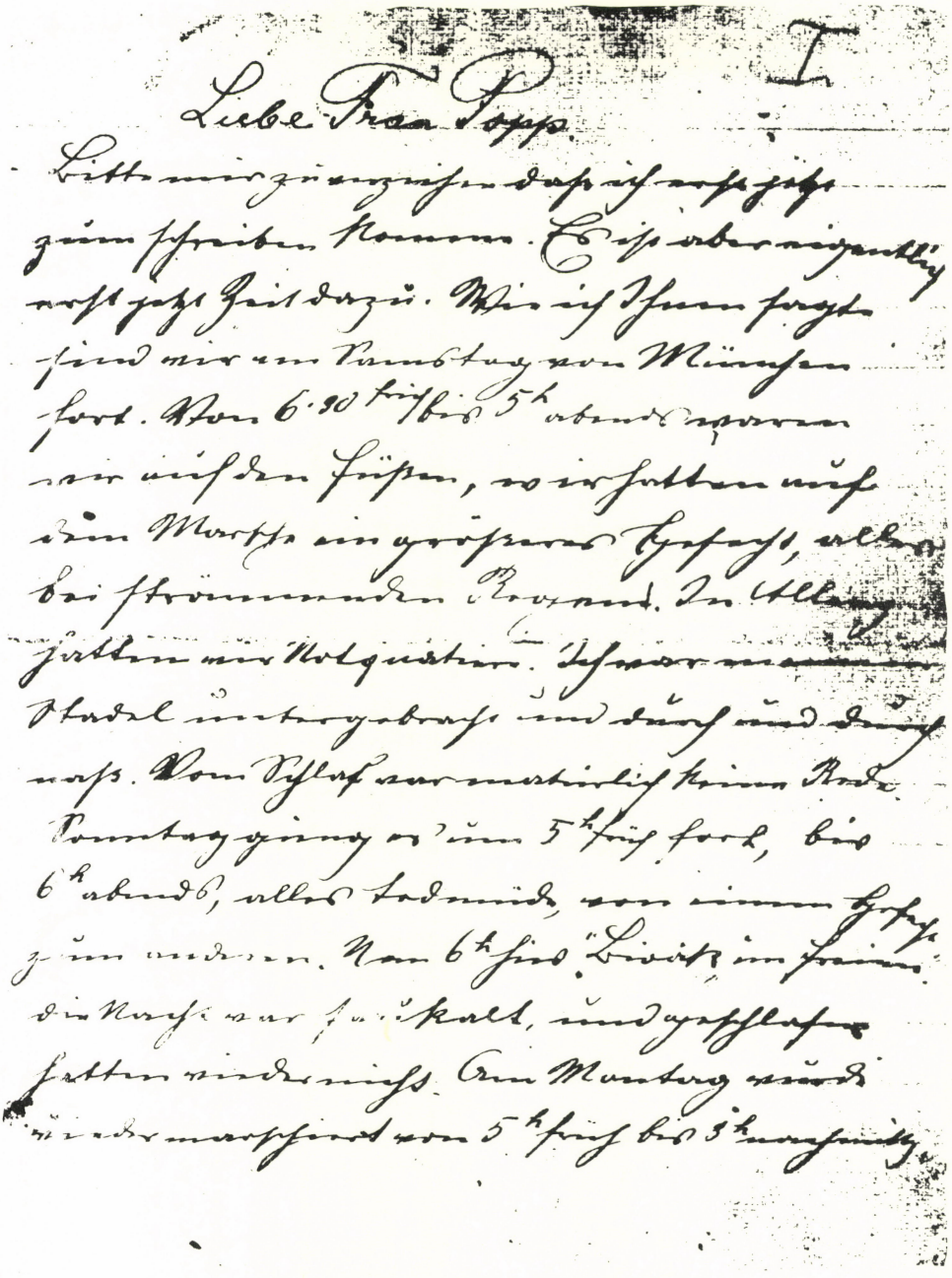
'What strikes one first is the writer's compulsive restlessness and tremendous excitability. This reflects a highly aggressive attitude, the more so as there is a lack of feeling and consideration for others. His present situation ought to suit him perfectly: in a war he has the chance to release his pent-up emotions and, what is more, in a form approved by society. What will happen when this situation changes is difficult to say, particularly since the writer is highly intelligent, though his intelligence is not so much critical as expressed through cunning, slyness, spontaneous and sometimes inventive responses to given situations. One might also say that he is able to digest a great deal of material in a very short time. In other words, he is anything but a colourless nonentity but has a great deal of potential, though with many negative traits. Because of his aggressiveness he is bound to engage in violent altercations.'

During the war, Hitler proved a brave and circumspect comrade[38] and took part in some fifty major and minor engagements.[39]

The letters Hitler wrote from the front, while a despatch runner in the Second Bavarian Reserve Infantry Regiment No. 16 (List), are the more revealing as he always claimed the First World War taught him more about the real 'problems of life' than thirty years at a university could have done.[40] Beyond that, these letters are of historical importance because they are obviously far less contrived than his autobiography, on which they thus throw a great deal of fresh light.

Hitler joined the army on 16 August; 65 days later, though still a raw recruit, he was sent to the front. On 20 October, 1914, he wrote the following letter to Frau Anna Popp, with whom he had lodged in Munich from 26 May, 1913, until the outbreak of war:

* The well-known graphologist responsible was simply told that the letter had been written by a 26-year-old soldier on active service.



Liebe Frau Popp.

Bitte mir zu entschuldigen, daß ich nicht eher zum Schreiben kommen. Bin aber augenblicklich noch sehr sehr sehr

Wir waren am Schluß des Marsches todmüd
zum Umfallen, nicht so sehr wegen
des marschierens als vielmehr wegen des
[illegible] Terrains. Um 1 Uhr mittag
marschierten wir durch das Truppenlager
ins Lechfeld. Wir wurden gross empfangen.
Die Kerle glaubten wohl kaum daß wir
noch so viele Tripper haben. Den übrigen
aber schien meistens sehr kräftige Ge-
stalten zu sehen. Es sind aber noch
ganz schöne Kleidungsstücke hinzugekommen
des Ersatzes gesammen worden.
Trotz Müdigkeit sind wir stramm durch
marschiert. Es waren die ersten Tripper
die nicht schlapp machten. Die ersten 5 Tage
am Lechfeld waren die anstrengendsten
meines Lebens. Jeden Tag einen großen
Marsch, großen Übungen, und Nachtübung

Dear Frau Popp,

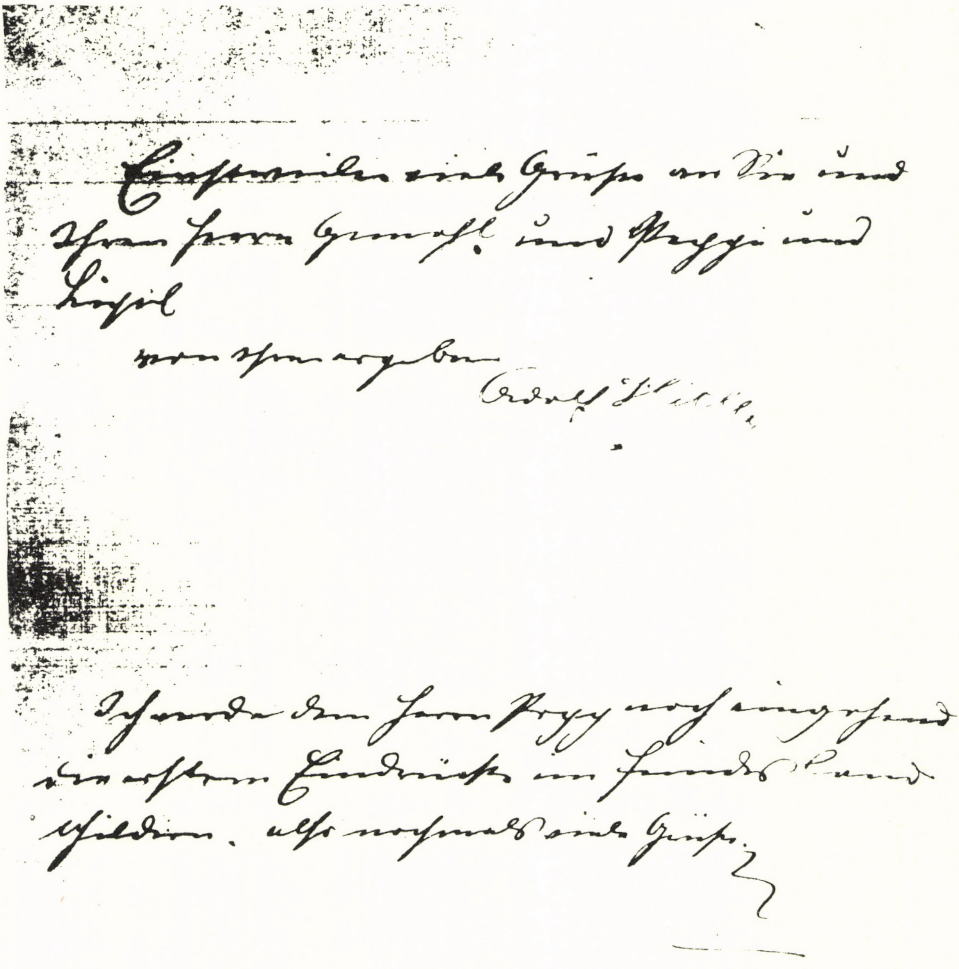
Please forgive me for not writing earlier. But this is the first chance I have had. As I told you, we left Munich on Saturday. We were on our feet from 6.30 a.m. until 5 p.m. and during the march we took part in a major engagement, all in pouring rain. We were quartered in Alling. I was put in the stables and I was wet through. Needless to say I could not sleep a wink. On Sunday we were on the move again from 5 a.m. to 6 p.m., all of us dog-tired, fighting action after action. At 6 p.m. we were ordered to camp in the open. The night was freezing cold and again none of us got any sleep. On Monday on the march again from 5 a.m. to 3 p.m.

At the end of the march we were all ready to drop, not so much because of all the marching as because we were not yet used to our knapsacks. At 1 p.m. we marched through the French camp in the Lech valley. They all gaped at us. These characters could hardly believe we still had so many men. For the rest, most of them were strapping lads. They were French shock-troops captured at the beginning of the campaign. Dead-tired though we were, we marched past them smartly. They were the first French I ever saw. The first 5 days in the Lech valley were the most tiring of my whole life. Each day a longer march still, more strenuous

bis zu 42 km, mit wechselnden großen
Ruhepausen. Das einzige Gute
war das Quartier. Wir haben in der Ortschaft
Graben, Privatquartier mit Strohsäcken.
Besonders die Nächte sind sehr kalt. Die
Verpflegung ist dürftig. Wir haben
jetzt 2 Tage Rast. Heute den 28. Oktober
geht ein eindringlicher Befehl an
die Front, wahrscheinlich neue Verletzen.
Ich schreibe noch schnell. Sonntag
war noch Gottesdienst. Wir bekamen
6 neue Ersatz für die ganze Kompagnie
unsere erste Kompagnie war fast
Kompagnie. Nach Empfang von Ersatz
muß sofort wieder Gefecht sein
und mein Befehl angeben. Ich hoffe
wir kommen nach Frankreich. Viele Grüße
an Ihren lieben Fritz Hess und den Jungen
Hermann.

exercises and night marches up to 42 kilometres followed by brigade manœuvres. The only good thing is our present billet. We are quartered in the village of Graben, privately and with board. The latter is excellent. The people are almost stuffing us with food. We are just having a 2 days' rest. Tonight, the 20th, we are going on a 4 days' train journey, probably to Belgium. I am tremendously excited. On Saturday, we received our colours. We were handed 6 new banners for the whole brigade. Our first company was the colour company. Once we have arrived at our destination, I shall write to you straight away and send you my address.* I hope we shall get to England.[41] How are you dear Frau Popp and your dear husband?

* This was in clear breach of regulations. Hitler kept sending news that he ought to have kept to himself for security reasons.



Meanwhile kindest regards to you, your husband*, Peppit and Liesel‡

from yours sincerely

Adolf Hitler

I shall send Herr Popp a detailed description of my first impressions of enemy country. Kindest regards once again.

During a brief stop on his train journey to the front, Hitler sent Joseph Popp 'best wishes from Ulm on my way to Antwerp'.[42]



Hitler (circled) learns of the outbreak of war in Odeon Square, Munich, on 1 August, 1914. (Feldherrnhalle in the background.)

* Joseph Popp sen.
† Joseph Popp jun.
‡ Elisabeth, the Popps' daughter.

On 1 November, 1914, Hitler was made a lance-corporal; on 9 November he was transferred to the regimental staff; on 2 December he was awarded the Iron Cross, Second Class. On 4 December he sent the following informative letter to Popp:

Dear Herr Popp

Please forgive me for leaving you without news for so long.* I shall explain why later. Many thanks for your postcards. When I told you that we were going to Antwerp I was quite wrong. After a glorious journey down the Rhine, we crossed into Belgium at 10 p.m. As we left Aachen, we were given an enthusiastic send-off by thousands of people, and much the same thing happened throughout our journey. At 9 a.m. we arrived in Liège. The railway station was badly damaged. The traffic was tremendous. Army transport only, of course. At midnight we arrived at Louvain. The whole town is a heap of rubble. Via Brussels we went on to Dournay, and arrived in Lille the next day at about 5 p.m. There we were put on the alert for 3 days. Even in Dournay we had heard uninterrupted gunfire from afar; in Lille the roar of cannon seemed to be endless. Lille is a typical French town. Parts of it have been shot up or burnt down by us. By and large, however, the town has suffered little.

* During the first year of the war Hitler was most anxious to keep in touch with friends and acquaintances at home. Thus, despite his repeated claims that he had not written 'for so long', he wrote many more letters then than at any later period.

Lieber Herr Popp!

Ich bitte freundlichst mir gütigst zu verzeihen, daß ich Ihnen so lange nichts von mir habe hören lassen. Der Schluß meiner Arbeit hat mich so in Anspruch genommen, daß ich mich nicht erholen konnte. Mein Vorsatz, Ihnen von Tag zu Tag zu berichten, hat sich nicht erfüllt. Nun kann ich wenigstens Ihnen heute sagen, daß ich Donnerstag um 12 Uhr mittags Berlin verlassen werde, um mich, wie ich hoffe, während der ganzen Zeit an Ihrem [illegible] Unterricht beteiligen zu können. Um 9 Uhr abends werde ich in Köln sein. Da ich Sonntag früh weiterreise, so werde ich leider nicht Gelegenheit haben, Sie zu sehen. Ich werde Montag früh um 5 Uhr in Lille ankommen. Dort hatte ich 3 Tage Aufenthalt. In Dünkirchen, wo ich Donnerstag früh ankomme, habe ich 5 Stunden Aufenthalt. Von Lille nach Dünkirchen, in Lille selbst, die Reise von Dünkirchen nach Lille ist eine sehr interessante. Einzelne Teile wurden von den Deutschen zerstört und niedergebrannt. Im Ganzen und Großen aber hat die Stadt wenig gelitten.

In Lille hatten wir uns gesagt wir bleiben
zusammen. Am 27 August 7 Uhr kam plötzlich
Alarm und Generalmarsch und 2 Minuten
wir sind, und am 29 Juli um 7 h kamen
wir in den Abend und gaben [redacted]
ging in die Quartier Hotel zum Stern
[illegible] und Bezelaere. 4 Tage lagen wir im
schönsten Kampf und mit Stolz darf
ich sagen unser Regiment hat sich
[illegible] Stets gute Leistungen [illegible] am
ersten Tag abends hatten wir [illegible]
alle Offiziere verloren unsere Kompanie
hatte nur noch [illegible] Mann. Am
vierten Tage waren wir 360 Mann
stark wo unsere Regiment noch 677
Mann übrig. Aber die Engländer
hatten wir geschlagen. Ich wurde Gefreiter
und blieb bis ins Winter [illegible] und
noch 3 Tiefere Russ [illegible] gegen
[illegible] wo wir [illegible] bei Nieuport
und dann bei Ypern. Dort hatten wir
wir noch 2 Stürme. Aber es ging wir

In Lille, as I said, we were put on the alert. On the 27th, at 1 a.m. the alarm was sounded, at 2 a.m. all of us marched out, and on the 29th at 7 a.m. we made contact with the enemy and immediately attacked outside Gheluwe and Bezelaire. For 4 days we were engaged in the fiercest battle, and I can proudly say that our regiment fought like heroes. On the very first day, we lost nearly all our officers and our company was only left with [inkstain] vice-sergeant-majors. On the fourth day our regiment had been reduced from 3,600 to 611 men.* For all that, we beat the English. I was made lance-corporal and was saved by a near miracle. After 3 days' rest, we went forward again and fought outside Messines and then near Wyschaete. There we launched another 2 assaults. But it was hard

* Hitler's claim that the regiment had been reduced from 3,600 to 611 men within four days was quite false. 'The regimental casualty lists show . . . that on the 29 October, 1914, when the "List" regiment received its "baptism of fire", 349 men were killed and that a further 373 were killed from 30 October to 24 November, 1914. During the whole war, the regiment lost 3,754 officers, non-commissioned officers and men. It is impossible to tell to what extent Hitler's figures are a deliberate exaggeration or a genuine mistake based on false or inadequate information.' Maser: *Adolf Hitler* . . . pp. 137f.

going this time. Our company was reduced to a mere 42 men, and the 11th Company to only 17. Now we have been sent 3 replacement companies consisting of a total of 1,200 men.* I was recommended for the Iron Cross after the second assault, but the company commander was severely wounded that very day, and the matter was forgotten. Instead, I was appointed staff orderly. Every since, I have, so to speak, been risking my life every day, looking death straight in the eye. Lt-Colonel Engelhart himself then recommended me for the Iron Cross. But the same day he, too, was badly wounded. He was our second regimental commander, for the first had fallen on our third day in the field. Since then I have been recommended by Adjutant Eichelsdorfer, and yesterday, on 2 December, I finally received the Iron Cross. It was the happiest

* This type of military secret is not usually disclosed in letters from the front.

auf Ihnen. Meine Kompagnie hat nur noch 42 Mann die 7te Kompagnie nur noch 17. Jetzt haben wir 3 Kompagnien Franzosen vor uns, gegen 1200 Mann stark. Dieselben werden Ihnen auf den 2ten Kampf zum letzten Krieg vorgeschlagen. Aber die Kompagnien hinter uns werden auf denselben Tag Ihnen vorgeworfen werden. Ihr Leben ist für uns wohl jeden Tag einen Heller nicht Pfennig gesetzt wenn der Tod uns alle hinrafft. Ebenso bitterernst Ihnen Ihr Leben auf den selben Tag wie für uns. Ich werde es auf Ihnen wenigstens 2 Kompagnien Franzosen, die sonst uns am dritten Tag stehen geschlagen. Jetzt werden wir vorgeschlagen durch die Abgesandten Ihrer Fürsten und gestern den 2 Dezember ist der letzte Tag wirklich der glücklichste Tag meines Lebens

[illegible]

Gefreiter Heller

16 bayr. Reserve Regiment
6 " " Division
1 Compagnie (Regimentsstab)

day of my life. True, most of my comrades who had earned it just as much were dead. I beg you, dear Herr Popp, please save the newspaper in which the decoration is listed. I would like to have it as a keepsake if the Lord should spare my life.

But how are you and your family, dear Herr Popp? I hope all of you are well. It is a sheer miracle that I am hale and hearty, what with the tremendous exertions and the lack of sleep. How are Peppi and Liesl? I think of Munich very often, and especially of you, dear Herr Popp, and your wife. Sometimes I have a great longing for home. I must close now, dear Herr Popp, and ask you once again to forgive me for not having written earlier. The culprit is the Iron Cross.
My new address is:

Lance-Corporal Hitler,
16th Bavarian Reserve Regiment,
6th Bavarian Reserve Division,
1st Company (Regimental Staff).

Meanwhile kindest regards to you dear Herr Popp and to your wife and children,

Yours sincerely,
Adolf Hitler.

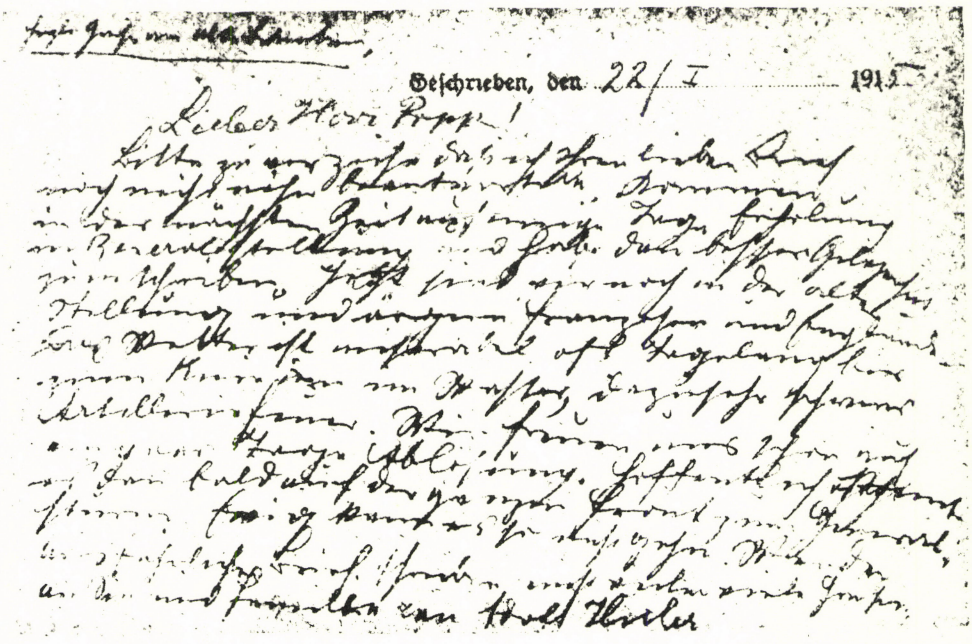
On 20 January came the following letter-card:

Kindest regards to all!

Dear Herr Popp,

Please forgive me for not answering your letter in greater detail. I am about due for a few days' leave behind the lines and then I will have a much better chance to write. We are still in our old positions and keep annoying the French and the English. The weather is miserable; and we often spend days on end knee-deep in water and, what is more, under heavy fire. We are greatly looking forward to a brief respite. Let's hope that soon afterwards the whole front will start moving forward. Things can't go on like this for ever. I shall be writing you a long letter. Meanwhile kindest regards to you and your family.

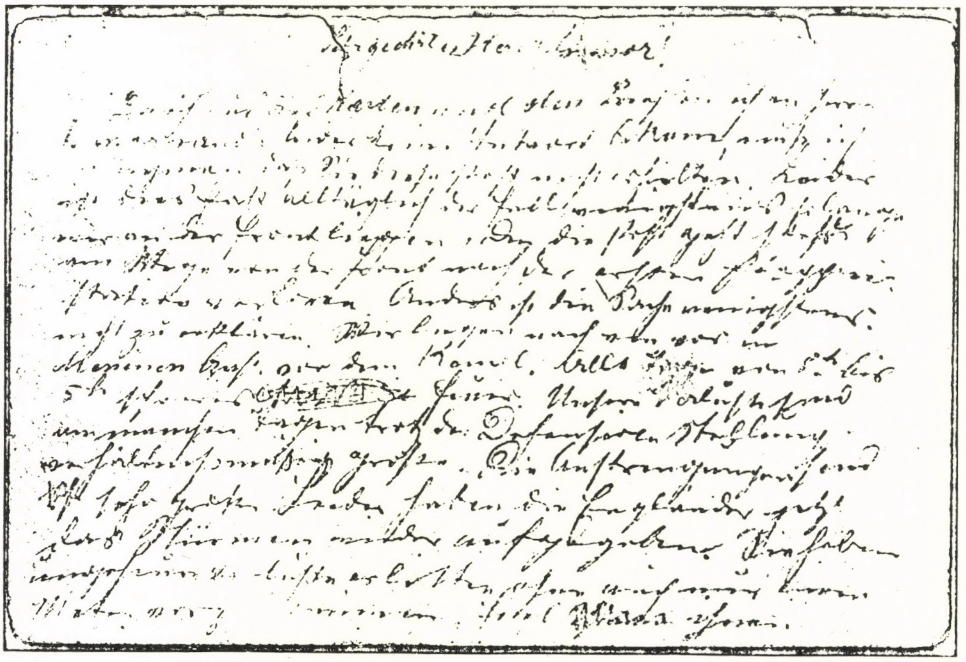
Adolf Hitler



To Ernst Hepp, an assistant judge in Munich to whom he had written several letters without receiving a reply, Hitler wrote the following note:

Dear Herr Assessor,

Since I have received no reply to the postcards and letters I sent to you, I must take it that you did not receive them. Unfortunately this happens almost daily while we are at the front, for all letters from here seem to get lost before they reach the nearest railway station. That, at least, is the only reasonable explanation. We are still outside Messines [next word illegible] and the canal. Heavy fire continues from 5 a.m. to 5 p.m. Our daily losses are often relatively severe, despite our defensive position. The strain is tremendous. Unfortunately, the English have stopped attacking. They have suffered tremendous losses without advancing a single metre [next two words illegible] . . .[43]



On 26 January, 1915, he wrote again to Joseph Popp:

Dear Herr Popp,

At last I have the chance to write you another long letter. First of all, my sincerest thanks for your kind Christmas letter, your last postcard, and also for the parcel* which I have not yet received. Postal communications are very bad. But everything will doubtless arrive in due course. You, dear Herr Popp and your wife might perhaps like to have some details about our present position. For the past two months our regiment has been constantly in the front line between Messines and Wyschaete. Two months ago we were dug in near Betlehem Ferme [?]. Our staff is now in Messines. The outskirts are partly flat and partly undulating and covered with countless hedges and straight rows of trees. Because of the eternal rain (we have had no winter), the closeness of the sea, and the low altitude, the meadows and fields look like bottomless swamps, while the roads are covered ankle-deep in mud. Through these swamps run the trenches of our infantry – a maze of

* This is not the only letter to refute the claim of many biographers that Hitler was neglected by his friends and acquaintances during the First World War, and received no home comforts.

Lieber Herr Rupp!

Nach langer Zeit komme ich wieder dazu Ihnen einen ausführlichen Brief zu schreiben. Vielen meinen besten Dank für Ihren lieben Weihnachtsbrief so wie Ihr Liebesbrief aber auch für den Postkalender, der ist aber noch nicht erfüllt. Der Feldbetrieb geht aber sehr schwer von statten. Aber mit der Heilpommade allein. Es dürfte Ihnen sehr Spaß, wenn ich Ihnen noch Näheres über unsere Verpflegung schreiben. Unser Regiment liegt seit 2 Monaten ununterbrochen in der vordersten Feuerlinie und zwar zwischen Maisons und Upachaute. Aber zwei Monaten lagen wir in Ruhestellung. Unsere Stellungen sind die Umgebung ist total flach tief durchfurcht, und mit zahlreichen Hecken und Alleen und Obstbäumen besetzt. Durch den ewigen Regen sind sämtliche Gräben, die Nähe des Meeres, und die tiefe Lage der Felder, gleichen die Wiesen und Felder gründlichen Morästen, während die Straßen mit tiefen Pfützen bedeckt sind. Bei tiefem Dunkel gehen wir die Schützengräben unserer Infanterie, [redacted] ein Gewirr von Unterstände

Schützengräben mit Schießscharten, Laufgräben,
Deckungsräumen, Wolfsgruben, Flatterminen,
Drahthindernissen und sonstigen Sperrungen.
Die Besatzung besteht aus den Infanterie-
und Jägerbataillonen zum Angriffe. Ohne unter
ungünstigen Verhältnissen werden sie zurückgehen
müssen. Der Widerstand ist Tag und Nacht.
Unsere Regimentsstab liegt in Abteilung
Abteilungsstab in Städtchen von 2.400 Einwohnern
etwa sieben Kilometer, der nächste von dem
Ort entfernt. Gegenüber ein ungeheures
Land und Schlachtfeld. Fast wurden der Ort
und die Straßen Tag und Nacht. Die
Engländer erstürmt. Die
Engländer erstürmt. Fast alle
unsere Offiziere Abteilungsführer Abteilungen
Bataillone 21 am Abend ihre Leute sammeln
Leute zu sammeln, Abend Nacht Tag und Nacht
Tag, Abend Nacht Tag und Nacht Tag
und Nacht Tag und Nacht Tag und Nacht
Tag und Nacht Tag und Nacht Tag und Nacht
Tag und Nacht Tag und Nacht Tag und Nacht
Tag

dug-outs, trenches with loopholes, entrenchments, barbed-wire entanglements, pitfalls, landmines, in short an almost impregnable position. The French and English have been on the offensive since the beginning of November. But they have always been repulsed with tremendous losses. This has gone on day after day. Our regimental staff is now in Messines.* Messines is a village of 2,400 inhabitants, or rather it was a village, for now nothing is left of it except an enormous heap of ash and rubble. First we stormed the place. The English put up a desperate defence. Only when our heavy artillery opened up and our 21-cm mortars produced craters, each large enough for a hay-cart to turn round in without difficulty, and only when the whole village with its great monastery went up in flames, did our regiments manage to take it amidst streams of blood. Now the French keep firing into the ruins. For the past two months, the air and the earth have been trembling under the screams and the roar of grenades

* *Cf.* p. 60.

and the bursting of shells. The hellish noise begins at 9 a.m., dies down at 1 p.m. and reaches its climax between 3 and 5 p.m. At 5 p.m. it's all over. What is most dreadful [?] is when the guns begin to spit across the whole front at night. In the distance at first, and then closer and closer with rifle-fire gradually joining in. Half an hour later it all starts to die down again except for the countless flares in the sky. And further to the west we can see the beams of large searchlights and hear the constant roar of heavy naval guns. But nothing on earth can ever shift us from here. Here we shall hang on until Hindenburg has softened Russia up. Then comes the day of retribution! A few kilometres to our rear the place is teeming with fresh young Bavarians. Every Belgian pocket now has young German troops. They are still being pampered and trained. I don't know for how long, but

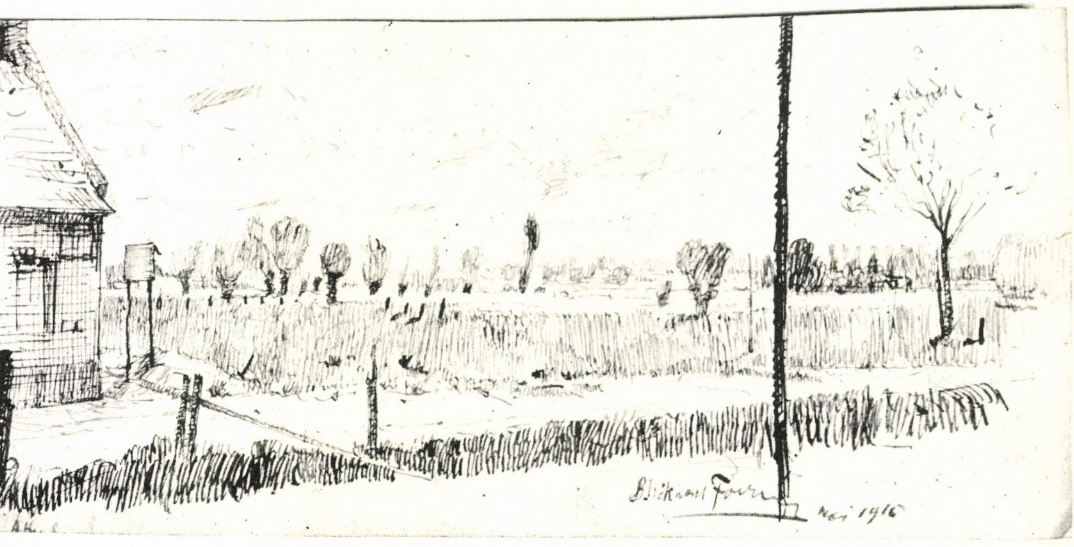


den Herrn der Herr Corps.
Mit wärmsten ehrerbietigen Respekt
verbleibe ich Euer Hochwohlgeboren
der sich Ihnen ergebenst empfiehlt
und bitte.
Ich selber bin wie durch ein
Wunder noch immer gesund und
wohlauf und Menschen und alle die lieben
Kameraden besonders aber die Brüder Herr ist selber
Offiziere bekannt ist sein Kommando oder
ist schon seit ohnlich 14 Tage nicht einmal
wissen, gewonnen Preußen wie vor dem
Feinde. Hier wird man wirklich den ewigen
Krieg gewahr wer allem oder selber
verdient Dienst. Also bitte wie die gewogen.

Mit ergebenst die herzlichsten Grüße
Ihr Freund und Kamerad
Ad. Hitler

then the fun is bound to start. As for our old volunteers, they are a bit low right now. The constant fighting has claimed a great many victims, and then there is the cold and the wet. I myself am miraculously well and often think of Munich and of all my dear acquaintances, especially of you, dear Herr Popp, your wife and children. If I write so rarely please do forgive me, but sometimes I can't even wash for 14 days at a time, so stuck are we in the mud and filth. And this endless battle dulls one's senses. Above all we lack regular sleep. So please do forgive me. Kindest regards to you dear Herr Popp and Frau Popperl and Liesel,

Yours sincerely,
Adolf Hitler.



On 5 February, Hitler wrote another letter to Ernst Hepp:

Dear Herr Assessor,

I am happy to learn that my last postcard has reached you, and I also thank you sincerely for your kind reply.

I had written you a long letter, but it seems that I must repeat everything. First of all, I would like to inform you, dear Herr Assessor, that I was awarded the Iron Cross on 2 December. Thank God there were more than enough chances to earn it. Our regiment was not, as we thought, attached to the reserves, but as early as 29 October we went into battle first thing in the morning and for the last three months [?] we have been giving them more than they bargained for both as attackers and defenders. After a glorious journey down the Rhine, we arrived in Lille on 23 October. We could see the war even from Belgium. Louvain was a heap of ash and rubble. As far as Dourmey our journey went fairly well and peacefully but then we had nothing but trouble. In some places the rails had been prised loose despite the closest watch. And then we came across an ever greater number of blown-up bridges and smashed railway engines. Although our train was moving at a snail's pace, we kept grinding to a halt more and more often. From the distance we could hear the

II. 1915 7

Sehr verehrter Herr Professor!

Glücklich darüber, daß Sie meine letzte Karte erhalten hat, danke ich Ihnen herzlich für Ihren lieben Brief, den gestern Herr Mende mir zur Verfügung gab.

Ich hatte schon einmal ausführlich geschrieben, muß diese nun wohl verloren haben. Vorerst teile ich Ihnen gerne mit, daß ich schon am 2ten Dezember der 8ten Armee zugeteilt, Gelegenheit zur Verwendung gab es bis jetzt noch nicht genug. Unser Korps kommt nun aber nicht wie die ersten in die Reserve, sondern gleich am 29 Oktober früh morgens in die Schlacht und hatte 3 Tage lang wie die Truppen die wir ablösten in den Schützengräben zu liegen und als Verteidiger. Nach einem prächtigen Rheinfest kamen wir am 23 Oktober in Lille an. Von dort ging es [illegible] Lorgies. Hier war ein Schützen- und Laufgraben. Die Tranchee ging die Straße ziemlich rückwärts und fiel. Dann aber kam Störung über Störung. Die einigen Stellen waren die Laufgräben trotz strengster Bewachung total verschneit worden. Immer zusammen kamen jetzt gefrorene Brüder, gefrorene Extremitäten. Obwohl der Zug in riesigen Schritten lang [illegible] kommen die Fälle immer öfter. Und der

1.

8

[illegible] hörten wir nächst der [illegible] Rollen
unseres [illegible] Mörser. Gegen Abend kamen wir
in einen ziemlich zerschossenen Ort [illegible], wo
alle Häuser ausgeladen, und [illegible] dann [illegible]
den Garde zugewiesen [illegible]. Etwas vor Mitternacht
marschierten wir endlich in die eigentliche Stadt. Hier endlose
eine [illegible] Allee, links und rechts niedrige [illegible]
Häuser, endlose Plätze und [illegible] Barrikaden,
der Pflaster ist gemein Pflaster, und sehr [illegible]. Trotzdem
gibt es noch [illegible] nicht mehr auf der Straße, dafür mehr
an Militär. Hin und wieder und fast unter Lebensgefahr
zwischen den Trains und Munitionswagen durch bis
wir endlich zu den innern Festungswerken gelangen.
Das eigentliche Wien ist nun allerdings etwas
besser. Leitomischl aber ist auch [illegible] gegen Wien ein
Nest. Immer wieder muß ich an Düsseldorf denken.
Die Nacht verbrachten wir [illegible] im Hof des Börsengebäudes.
Der prächtige Bau ist noch nicht vollendet. Da wir mit
allem Gepäck und Reitzeug mußten, wir waren in
Marschstiefeln, so [illegible] mußten wir auf dem Steinpflaster
an [illegible] kalter Nacht, konnte ich in keinen Schlaf kommen.
Am nächsten Tag [illegible] wir das Quartier. Diesmal kamen wir in eine sehr große Glashalle, in

monotonous roar of our heavy mortars. Towards evening we arrived in a fairly badly damaged suburb of Lille. We got off the train and then lounged about our piled arms. Shortly before midnight, we at long last marched into the town along an endless, monotonous road with low factory buildings on either side, and an endless row of sooty and smoke-blackened tenements. The paving is in a terrible condition and filthy. There are no civilians about after 9 p.m., but all the more soldiers. We almost put our lives at risk as we squeezed past the supply and munition columns on our way to the inner gates. Central Lille proper is slightly better. But here, too, it's all dirty if you scratch under the surface. I was reminded of Germany time and again. We spent the night in the courtyard of the Bourse. The pompous building has been left unfinished. Since we had to bed down with all our gear – we were on alert – and since it was freezing cold on the cobble-stones I did not sleep a wink. Next day we changed our quarters. This time we were put into a very large glass building. There was no lack of air, quite the

opposite as only the iron framework had been left standing. The blast of German shells had shattered the glass into a million fragments. During the day we did a little training, visited the town and admired the huge army machine that had left its stamp on the whole of Lille and now rolled past our astonished eyes in gigantic columns. At night we all sang, many of us for the last time. During our third night, at 2 a.m., the alarm was sounded and at 3 a.m. we all marched out in formation. No one knew precisely what was happening, but we all believed it was a kind of drill. It was a very dark night. We had been marching for less than 20 minutes when we were ordered off the road so that the supply columns, the cavalry, etc., could get past. At long last there was room for us again. Finally it was morning. We were a long way from Lille. The roar of the guns had gradually grown stronger. Like a giant snake our column inched forwards. At 9 a.m. we rested for two hours in a park, and then on again until 8 p.m. The regiment split up into companies, every one of which was taking cover from aircraft. At 9 p.m. we were handed our rations. I couldn't sleep, alas.

9

Lust von kein Mangel der jüngst nur nicht der [illegible]
ist wird. Unter der Musikbuchstaben Granaten war der [illegible]
in Millionen Scharen geschildert. Tag über wurde
nachstaus gezählt, die Stadt besichtigt und vor allem der
gewaltige Dom angestaunt, der ganz Köln seinem
Umfang ausdrückte und in seinen einfachen [illegible]
Linien unseren verstörten Augen wohltat. Nachts wurde
nach gesungen, für viele der letzte mal, in der dritten
Nacht um 2h kam plötzlich Alarm, und um 3h Uhr
marschierten wir feldmäßig aus Deutzerfeld ab.
Ziel wußte niemand. Jedenfalls aber sollten
wir es für einen strengen Marsch, aber einen ziemlich kurzen
Marsch. Denn waren wir 20 Minuten marschiert, so fing es
wieder fürchterlich an zu regnen und dann kamen Hagelkörner
groß wie Haselnüsse, und wir mußten die Straße, die
endlich wieder eine Pflasterstraße wurde, finden. Endlich wurde es Morgen
Wir waren mitten in Köln. Der Hagel und Donner war
allmählich stärker geworden. Wie ein Trommelfeuer
und schweres Maschinengewehrfeuer vereinigt. In einem
Dorf gerade kam um 7h der Befehl. Gewehre zusammen, und
dann ging es wieder weiter bis 8h abends. Das Regiment
ist jetzt verschwunden, es hat sich jetzt aufgelöst in seine
Bestandteile, und wer weiß, wann sich die Division
wieder sammeln wird. Um 8h abends erhalten wir die Ansage

7.

10

Ich kann leider nicht schlafen. 4 Schritte von meinem Kopfkissen liegt ein toter Gaul. Den ganzen Morgen schießen mindestens schon 2 Stunden. Das Abschießen selber [illegible]. Endlich liegt unsere Küste und eine deutsche Feldhaubitzbatterie, und jagt alle 15 Minuten 2 Granaten über unsere Köpfe hinweg in die schwarze Nacht hinaus. Der Knall und Schuß durch die Luft und den Ort, wo sie in der Ferne 2 dumpfe Schläge. Jeder von uns horcht auf. Der erstemal ein Leben [illegible] Herz zu klopfen, wie [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

There was a dead horse four paces in front of my palliasse. It looked as if it had been dead for two weeks at least. The beast was half decomposed. Just behind us a German howitzer battery fired two shells over our heads into the dark night every 15 minutes. They kept screaming and whistling through the air, followed by two dull thuds in the far distance. Every one of us listened out for them. We had never heard anything like it before. And while we lay pressed one against the other whispering and looking up into the starry sky, the distant noise drew closer and closer, and the individual thuds of the guns came faster and faster until finally they merged into one continuous roar. Each one of us could feel his blood pound in his veins. We were told the English were making one of their nocturnal attacks. Unsure of what was really going on, we all waited anxiously for the next move. Then everything died down until finally the hellish din stopped completely, except for our own battery which kept spitting its iron salutes into the night every 15 minutes. In the morning we discovered a huge crater.

11

Nach langem Nachsinnen der Gruberein prima last Nacht. Gegen Mitternacht fing es an heftig zu regnen als es um 10h wieder Alarm gibt. 15 Minuten später marschieren wir ab. Nach langem Irren und Suchen kommen wir in ein zerschossenes Gehöft und nehmen wieder Quartier. Es ist dies Nacht Nacht. Um 1h nachts kommt plötzlich wieder Alarm und um 3h marschieren wir ab. Vorher fassen wir neuerdings Munition. Während wir aber den Gewehrgriff machten kommt Major Graf Zech vorbei. : Morgen werden wir die Engländer angreifen :

Endlich jubelt es in jedem von uns auf. Der Major spricht noch diese Ansprache zu Ende an die Spitze des Bataillons. Um 6h früh treffen wir bei einem Gehöfte mit den andern Kompagnien zusammen, und um 7h geht der Sturm los. Zwei Kompagnien marschieren vor einen vorliegenden Wald, und kommen in bester Ordnung auf einen freiliegenden Waldrand an. Vor uns sind wir Gefechtsstaffel eingegraben. Jeder dieser, in großen Zwischenräumen nehmen wir Deckung und warten. Jetzt pfeifen uns die ersten Schrapnells über uns und platzen am Waldsaum und gerissen Bäume und ab die Aeste nieder. Munitionswagen fahren vor. Wir haben noch keine Ahnung von der Gefahr. Keiner von uns hat Furcht. Jeder wartet

5.1

After much effort, we put the dead horse to rest in it. We were just trying to make ourselves at home, when the alarm was sounded at 10 a.m. 15 minutes later we moved off. After a great deal of toing and froing we ended up in a wretched farmhouse and camped there. I was on guard that night. At 1 a.m. another alarm, and at 3 a.m. we marched out again, having first been issued with fresh ammunition. While we were waiting for orders, Major Graf Zech rode past; tomorrow we attack the English. At last!
All of us rejoiced. The major then walked to the head of the column. At 6 a.m. we joined up with the other companies and at 7 a.m. the fun started in earnest. We crossed the woods to our right in columns, and reached a clearing. In front of us four guns had been dug in. Behind them were large foxholes in which we took up position and waited. Now the first shrapnel started to roar over our heads, bursting on the edge of the wood, and cutting down trees like wisps of straw. We looked on curiously. We didn't yet sense the danger, and so none of us was afraid. Every one of us was waiting for orders to advance. Then things went sour on us. We

were told there were casualties. Five or six khaki-clad figures on the left made all of us shout with joy. Six captured Englishmen and a machine-gun! We looked at their escorts. They were walking proudly behind their prisoners, and all we could do was wait, for we could see next to nothing in the foggy witches' cauldron that spread out in front of us. At last came orders to advance. We fanned out and raced across a field towards a small farm. To either side of us shells kept bursting and English bullets kept whistling by. But we paid no heed. For ten minutes we stayed put, and then we were ordered forward once more. I was right out in front, way ahead of most of the platoon. Suddenly I heard that file-leader Stöwer had been wounded. Oh dear, I thought, that's a fine start! Because we had no cover, we simply had to press on. Our captain was in the lead now. Then men started to fall all around me. The English had turned their machine-guns on us. We flung ourselves down and crawled through a gulley.

12

unzufrieden mit der „Abwesenheit". Und jetzt wird uns der Fahrtabschluss ärger. Es fallen schon Verwundete aus. 5 oder 6 Schwadronen werden so weit zusammengezogen und gleichzeitig alle verfügbaren Engländer und ein Maschinengewehr. Über Steine und Geröll mühsam hinüber. Die Pferde stolpern hinter der Düne, und wir müssen uns immer wieder sammeln, und schon kann man in den nebligen Morgen hinein Franzosen sehen. Endlich sind wir drüben. Wir schwärmen aus und jagen über die Felder die Franzosen vor uns her. Ihre Kanonen können uns ein kleines Geschütz zurücklassen und rasen davon. Die Franzosen und Engländer fangen die englischen Kugeln auf, aber die Franzosen nicht genug. Ihre Kanonen liegen vor ihnen und den Feinden wieder vor. Schließlich stehen wir, und sehen nur noch die Franzosen. Der Feind ist verschwunden. Gierig denken wir schnell, der fängt schon an. Da wir aber in freiem Feld sind, sieht er schnell unsere Übermacht. Der Feind ist in der Hitze. Jetzt fallen auch die ersten unter uns. Die Engländer haben jetzt Maschinengewehre auf uns eingestellt. Wir ersetzen uns alle wieder und kriechen durch eine Rinne langsam vor.

13

Manchmal [illegible], dann ist immer wieder eine
angeschossen, kann nicht mehr, und wir müssen
sie wieder ins Feuer jagen. Da kriegen wir wieder
bis auf die Knochen nasse, und jetzt müssen wir
wieder über freies Feld. 15 bis 20 Meter davon kommen
wir in einen [illegible] großen Wassertümpel. Hinein mit
den Leuten, jeder sucht sich eine Deckung und schießt
sich ein. Aber hier gibt es kein Eingraben. Alles schnell
weg und marsch, marsch, bis zu dem etwa 100 Meter
vor uns liegenden Wald. Dort treffen wir uns
so nach und nach wieder. Inzwischen ist [illegible]
stark aufgeschlossen. Jetzt kommen die nun
noch ein Viertelstündchen: Schmidt ein Dreimalsechzehn
prächtiger Kerl. Wir pirschen uns den Leuten
durch zum Waldrand vor. Aber uns sind [illegible]
[illegible] in dichten Fetzen davongestoben, und
Äste um uns herum. Leute wieder krepieren
Granaten in den Waldbäumen hinein und schneiden
Kolben von Stämmen und Bäumen weg.
Haben die Schwersten Bäume und den Büschen und
erstickten alles in einem gelbgrauen schmutzigen,
stinkigen [illegible]. Dumpf. Hier können wir
sie nicht liegen, und wenn wir schon fallen, dann nur
noch besser drüben. Da kommt unser Major.

7.

Every so often we had to stop because someone had been wounded, and couldn't go on and had to be lifted out. And so we crawled on until the gulley stopped and then it was the open field for us once again. Some 15 to 20 metres beyond was a large pond. One after the other we dived in, took cover, and got our breath back. But we couldn't stay there for ever. And so out and on to a wood some 100 metres in front of us. Here we all reassembled. It looked as if we had been pared down a lot. We were now led by a mere vice-sergeant, Schmidt, a magnificent hunk of a man. We crawled to the edge of the wood. There was a constant howling and roaring overhead, with tree-trunks and branches flying in pieces through the air. Then shells burst into the wood once again and threw up showers of stone, earth and sand, tore up the heaviest trees by their roots and smothered everything in a horrible, greeny-yellow, stinking vapour. We couldn't lie there for ever, and if we had to get it, far better to get it outside. Then our major appeared.

On we went again. I leapt and ran as best I could across meadows and turnip fields, jumped across ditches, negotiated wire entanglements and hedges, and then I heard a shout right in front: 'All of you, in here!' A long trench stretched out before me; a moment later I had jumped in and countless others all round me were doing likewise. By my side were Wurtembergers, beneath me dead and wounded Englishmen. The Wurtembergers had taken the trench by storm. Now I realized why I had had so soft a landing. Trenches 240–280 metres to the left of us were still held by the English and so was the road to Becelaire to our right. A hail of steel whistled across our trench. At 10 a.m., our own guns began to reply at last. 1-2-3-5 etc. Again and again one of our shells landed in the English trench. They poured out like ants from an antheap, and then we attacked. We crossed the fields at lightning speed and after many bloody hand-to-hand skirmishes we cleared the lot of them out of their trenches. Many came out with their hands up. Those who did not surrender were mowed down. And so we

14

[illegible] wieder vorwärts. Abspringen und laufen
so gut es geht, über die Wiesen und Rübenfelder
springen über Gräben, klettern über Draht und
Lebende Hecken und dann [illegible] ein Schreien
„Sie fliehen, alles flieht“. Ein Leutnant [illegible]
[illegible] rufen eines nach dem anderen, einen Augenblick
später springe ich hinein vor mir, hinter mir,
links und rechts folgen unzählige andere. Neben mir
sind Württemberger, unter mir tote und verwundete
Engländer. Die Württemberger hatten den Graben schon
vorher erstürmt. Jetzt erhebt sich auf beiden Seiten
Infanteriefeuer. 250-300 m links vor uns waren
englische Gräben, rechts vor uns die Straße nach
Neuve Chapelle in Feindeshand. Über unseren Gräben pfeifen
ein unaufhörliches Schrapnellfeuer. Endlich um
10h greift unsere Artillerie ein. 12-15 Schuß. Dann
kommen wieder [illegible] eine Granate vor uns in
den vor uns liegenden englischen Schützengraben ein.
Wie auf einmal breiten sich [illegible] die Leichen dort
vorne und nun geht es los zum Stürmen.
Wir kommen blitzschnell über die Felder vor, und
nach stellenweise blutigen Handkampf werfen
wir die Engländer aus einem Graben nach dem anderen
zurück. Viele haben die Hände hoch. Was sich nicht ergibt

15

wird niedergemacht. Graben um Graben
räumen wir so. Endlich sind wir unsere große
Straße angelangt. Links und rechts vor uns
ist junger Wald. Alles vorwärts, ihr ein. Rudel,
weiße treiben wir die Russen heraus. Wir kommen
wir bis an die Halle, wo der Wald endet und die
Straße frei weiter führt. Links liegen einige
Häuser die sind jetzt noch besetzt und wir bekommen
Feuer, Feuer von dem anderen Ende
von uns zusammen. Da kommt plötzlich unser
Major auf mich zugeritten, mit ihm sein Adjudant
Lt. Hagedorn. Der Major überfliegt schnell die Lage,
und befiehlt links und rechts der Straße zu
säubern zu jeweiligen Offizier sieht wir keinen
mehr, denn mehr Unteroffiziere. Da springt der
jeder von uns, der uns nur etwas Deckung bietet
und fällt Feuerstellungen von. Als wir das zweitemal
mit einem Hurra gesprungen Maschinengewehr
Feuerstellung liegt der Major mit aufgerissenem
Kopf am Boden. Ein Schuß hatte ihm das Herz
Nun ist noch ein Offizier übrig, sein Adjudant. Da und
steht die Wut. Jetzt drängen wir uns zum Sturm
Feind allen. Alles dem vorwärts durch den Wald links
seitlich unsere Straße kommen wir nicht vor. 4 mal dringen

cleared up trench after trench. Finally we reached the main road. A plantation stretched to either side of us. In we went, and chased them out in droves. And so we reached the other edge of the plantation and the open road. To the left a few farms were still held by the enemy, and we came under blistering fire. Comrades collapsed all round me. Then our madcap major arrived, smoking quite unconcernedly. With him was his adjutant, Lt Pyloty. The major quickly surveyed our position and ordered us to assemble on either side of the road and then to attack. We ourselves had no officers left and hardly any non-commissioned officers. And so every one of us who was worth his salt raced back to get reinforcements. When I returned for the second time with a band of dispersed Wurtembergers, I found the major lying on the ground with his chest torn wide open, and a heap of bodies all round him. The only officer left was his adjutant. We were boiling with rage. 'Lieutenant, lead us into the attack,' all of us yelled. And so on we went to the left of the wood, for we couldn't possibly make it on the road. 4 times we advanced only to be thrown back. Of my

entire lot, only one other was left and at last he fell as well. Then a bullet tore off my right sleeve but by a miracle I myself was saved. At 2 p.m. we advanced for the 5th time and this time we took the edge of the wood and the farmsteads beyond. At 5 p.m. we re-assembled and dug in a hundred metres in front of the road. And so we fought on for 3 days until finally we got the better of the English. On the evening of the 4th day we marched back to Osterwick, where we could take stock of our losses. In 4 days, our regiment had shrunk from $3\frac{1}{2}$ thousand to 600. We were left with only 3 officers. 4 companies had to be dissolved. But we were all proud of having beaten the English. Ever since we have been right in the front lines. In Messines I was recommended for the Iron Cross and again in Wyschaete, the 2nd time with four others, by Lt-Col Engelhardt, our regimental commander. On 2 December I received it at last. I am

16

wir hier und müssen wieder zurück, von meinen ganzen Leuten bleibt nur mehr einer übrig außer mir, endlich fällt auch der. Mir reißt ein Schuß den ganzen rechten Backenmuskel herunter aber wir drei sind Glück bleiben in Feuer und Teil. Um 4h endlich gehen wir in 5 Mann vor, und diesen muß besetzen wir den Wald rund um die Geschütze. Um Abend um 5h kommen wir, und graben uns Gräben unter vor der Straße ein. Die Franzosen wir sie bis endlich um 3ten die Engländer getroffen werden. Um 4ten abends marschierten wir zurück nach Ostende. Dort sahen wir erst unsere Leute. Das 4te Regiment war unser Regiment und von 3½ tausend Mann sind 600 zusammengekommen. Das ganze Regiment zählt nur mehr 30 Offiziere. 4 Kompagnien mußten aufgelassen werden. Aber stolz waren wir alle darauf, daß wir die Engländer geworfen hatten. Trotzdem liegen wir immer in erster Front. Im Monat wurde ich zum ersten mal im Gefechte zum zweitenmal zum Eisernen Kreuz vorgeschlagen, diesmal, mit noch einem anderen, von Herrn Oberstl. Engelhardt, unserem Regimentskommandeur. Am 6ten Dezember erhielt ich dann endlich Ihr Schreiben

10.)

17

[illegible]

now a staff runner. It's slightly less dirty work but all the more dangerous. In Wyschaete alone 3 of us 8 were killed on the first day of the attack and one was badly wounded. That time we were saved by our decoration. For when the list of recommendations for the 'Cross' was being discussed, 4 company leaders came into the tent, or rather into the dug-out. Because there was not enough room, we had to step outside. We had been waiting there for less than 5 minutes when a shell hit the dug-out, wounding Lt-Col Engelhardt badly* and killing or wounding the rest of the staff. It was the worst moment of my life. All of us worshipped Lt-Col Engelhardt.

I must close now and beg you, dear Herr Assessor, to forgive my poor hand. I am very nervous right now. Day after day we are under heavy artillery fire from 8 a.m. to 5 p.m., and that is bound to ruin even the strongest of nerves. For the two parcels you were kind enough

* Lt-Col Engelhardt's life was saved by Hitler. *Cf.* Maser: *Adolf Hitler*, p. 137.

to send me sincerest thanks to you and your esteemed wife. I often think of Munich, and each one of us has only one wish: that he might soon get a chance to even scores with that crew, to get at them no matter what the cost, and that those of us who are lucky enough to return to the fatherland will find it a purer place, less riddled with foreign influences, so that the daily sacrifices and sufferings of hundreds of thousands of us and the torrent of blood that keeps flowing here day after day against an international world of enemies, will not only help to smash Germany's foes outside but that our inner internationalism, too, will collapse. This would be worth much more than any gain in territory. Austria will fare as I have always said she will. Once more my sincerest thanks and respectful regards to your dear mother and wife,

Yours most sincerely,
Adolf Hitler.

18

wieder sage ich Ihnen, sehr geehrte Frau Gemahlin, meinen herzlichsten Dank. Ich denke fest an Mutter, und jeder von uns hat nur den einen Wunsch, daß er bald zur endgiltigen Abrechnung mit der Landsknechtsnatur nicht, zum Vernichtenden, kommen möge, sondern daß er uns als Retter, und daß die, die von uns das Glück besitzen, ihr Heim wiederzusehen, sie meiner und von der Freundschaft aber nicht finden werden, daß durch die Besten und Treuen die nun täglich zu viele Hinderbrüder von uns bringen, daß durch den Strom von Blut der Tag für Tag fließt, wenigstens eine internationale Basis von Menschen, nicht zu Deutschlands Feinde im Äußersten zerschmettert werden, sondern daß uns unser immer Internationalismus zubleibt, daß über uns steht, als alle Ländergrenzen. Mein Österreich wird die Zeit kommen wissen, wann sie ihr Ende.

Indem ich nun nochmals meinen herzl. Dank wiederhole, verbleibe ich mit ergebensten Handkuß an Ihre geehrte Frau Mutter und Gemahlin

Ihr sehr ergebener Neffe

Adolf Hitler

How great an impression these events made on Hitler may also be gathered from the following passage in *Mein Kampf*: 'At last came the day when we left Munich to fulfil our duty. For the first time I saw the Rhine as we rode westward along its quiet waters to defend it, the German stream of streams, from the greed of the old enemy. When through the tender veil of the early morning mist the Niederwald Monument gleamed down on us in the gentle first rays of the sun, the old 'Watch on the Rhine' roared forth from the endless transport train into the morning sky, and I felt as though my heart was bursting. And then came a damp, cold night in Flanders, through which we marched in silence, and when the day emerged from the mists suddenly an iron greeting hissed across our heads and with a sharp report sent the small pellets flying between our ranks, ripping up the wet ground; but even before the little cloud had passed, the first Hurrah rose from 200 throats to meet the messenger of death. Then a crackling and a roaring, a singing, a howling began and each one of us was drawn forward, faster and faster, until finally past turnip fields and hedges, the fight began, the fight of man against man. And from the distance the strains of a song reached our ears, drawing closer and closer, leaping from company to company, and just as Death plunged a busy hand into our ranks, the song reached us too and we passed it on: Deutschland, Deutschland über alles, über alles in der Welt!

Four days later we came back. Even our step had changed. Seventeen-year-old boys now looked like men.

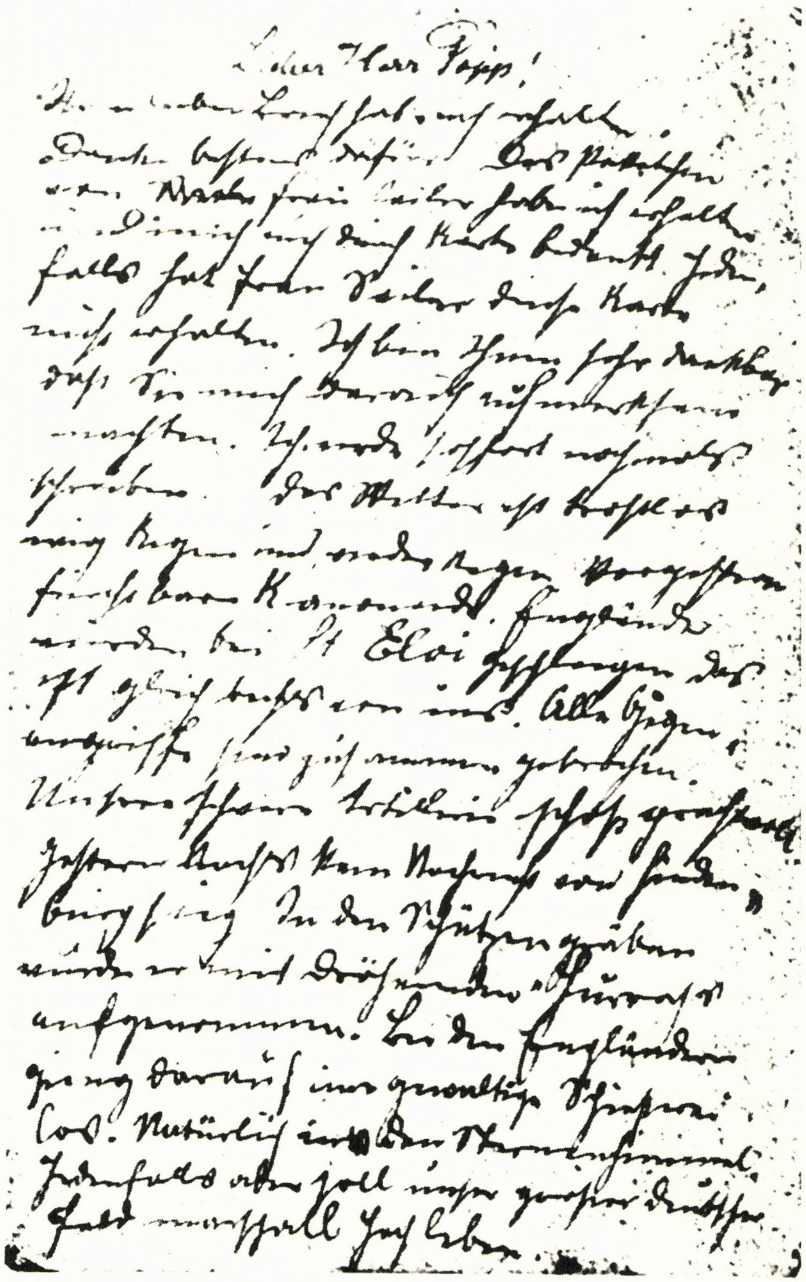
The volunteers of the List Regiment may not have learned to fight properly, but they knew how to die like old soldiers.

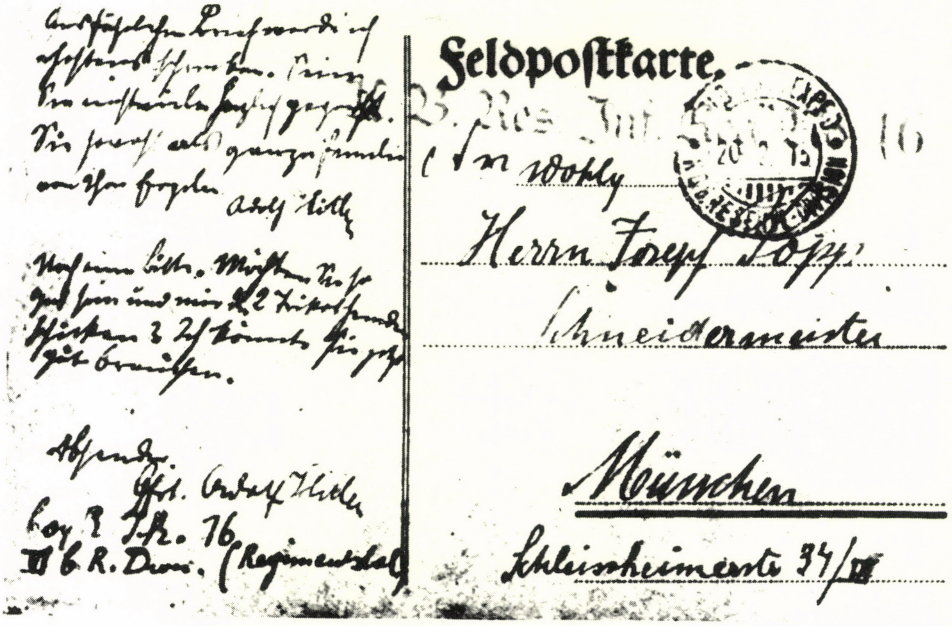
That was the beginning.'[44]

Most of the enthusiasm evinced in Hitler's first letters from the front had evaporated by 1915, as witness particularly the cards he wrote during the drizzly and cold February of that year. From then on he rarely wrote letters except to acknowledge receipts of parcels, to voice complaints about the bad weather, and to inform his friends that he was afraid 'the everlasting artillery fire' would ruin his nerves.

Dear Herr Popp,

Many thanks for your kind letter. I have also received a small parcel from Frau Seiler and have thanked her by card, which, it would seem, she did not receive. I am most grateful that you drew my attention to this fact. I shall write her another card straight away. The weather is miserable, there is nothing but rain and more rain. The day before yesterday we heard a terrible roar of guns. The English were beaten at St Eloi, immediately to our right. All counter-attacks have collapsed. Our heavy artillery did magnificently. Last night we heard news of Hindenburg's victory. In the trenches it was received with a roar of hurrahs. The English then started a tremendous bout of aimless firing. Naturally into the starry sky. In any case, long live our great German Field-Marshal!





I shall send you a long letter in the very near future.
Meanwhile kindest regards to you and your whole family from

Yours sincerely, Adolf Hitler.

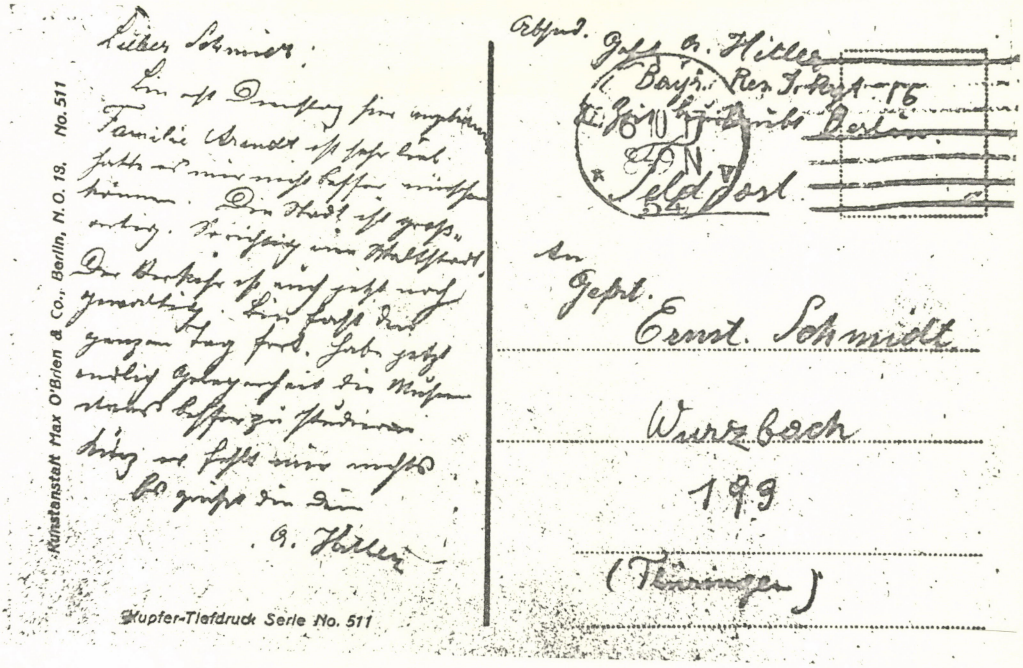
One more request. Would you be so kind as to send me 2 singlets? I could make good use of them now.

From
Corporal Adolf Hitler
Bav. III Inf. D 16
VI near R. Dion. (Regimental Staff).

Ten years later Hitler referred to the year 1915 as a great watershed, the year when his early exuberance made way for calmer self-reflection. 'Thus it went on, year after year;' he wrote in *Mein Kampf*, 'but the romance of battle had made way for horror. The enthusiasm gradually cooled off, and exuberant joy was stifled by mortal fear. The time had come when every one of us had to struggle between the instinct of self-preservation and the call of duty. I, too, was not spared by this struggle. Whenever Death was on the hunt, a vague something tried to revolt, and strove to represent itself to the weak body as reason, yet it was only cowardice which in such disguise tried to ensnare the individual. A grave tugging and warning then set in and often it was only the last remnant of conscience which decided the issue. Yet the more this admonished one to caution, the louder and more insistent its lures, the sharper resistance to it grew, until finally, after a long inner struggle, the sense of duty carried the day. In my case, this issue had been decided by the winter of 1915–16. At last my will was undisputed master. If in the first days I went over the top with rejoicing and laughter, I was now calm and determined. And this was enduring. Now Fate could bring on the ultimate tests without my nerves shattering or my reason failing.'[45]

Early in October 1917, while on home leave with his relatives in Spital, followed by a brief rest in Berlin, he wrote a postcard to his brother-in-arms, Ernst Schmidt,[46] in which he did not mention the war at all:

> Dear Schmidt,
>
> Did not get here until Tuesday. The Arendts are very kind, couldn't have wished for anything better. The city is magnificent, a real metropolis. The traffic is tremendous even now. I am out and about almost the whole day. At last I have the chance of getting to know the museums a bit better. In brief: I am short of nothing. Regards, Yours, Adolf Hitler.


Kunstanstalt Max O'Brien & Co., Berlin, N.O. 18. No. 511

Kupfer-Tiefdruck Serie No. 511

Abs. Gefr. A. Hitler
Bayr. Res. Inf. Reg. 16
6 10 J
Feldpost

An
Gefr.
Ernst Schmidt
Würzbach
199
(Thüringen)

Upper row: Hitler (second from right) on sick leave.





Hitler aged 30.

CHAPTER THREE

In search of a new profile

After the war, Hitler's letters became so remote and stilted that few people could have enjoyed receiving them. True, until 1923, he continued to write warm letters to a few of his old friends, such as Fritz Seidl and Fritz Lauböck, referring to their youth in Linz and even addressing them with the familiar 'Du'.* In a letter to Lauböck he wrote: 'Dear Fritz, it was with infinite joy that I received your dear lines yesterday, reminding me of those happy days and all the pranks we used to play. I was in Linz recently and strolling along all the old streets and lanes past our old house and through the Ge..enner Strasse, I chanced to think of you . . . The . . . fact that you are still alive, in Graz, and that you wrote to me was a pleasant surprise for quite a few of our old comrades have . . . fallen in the war.'[47] Lauböck's response to this cordial letter has not been preserved. Instead we have further postcards from Hitler in which he addresses Fritz Lauböck as 'Dear Herr Councillor' and 'Dear Herr Lauböck'.

The next great watershed in Hitler's life was the German defeat and the November Revolution.[48] As early as 1915, less than a year after the outbreak of a war he had welcomed so enthusiastically, he had been filled with premonitions and feelings of 'horror', all of which now seemed to have been more than justified.† It was during this period that he sent the following cards to his friend:

* See pp. 100–104 and 145.
† *Cf.* p. 96.



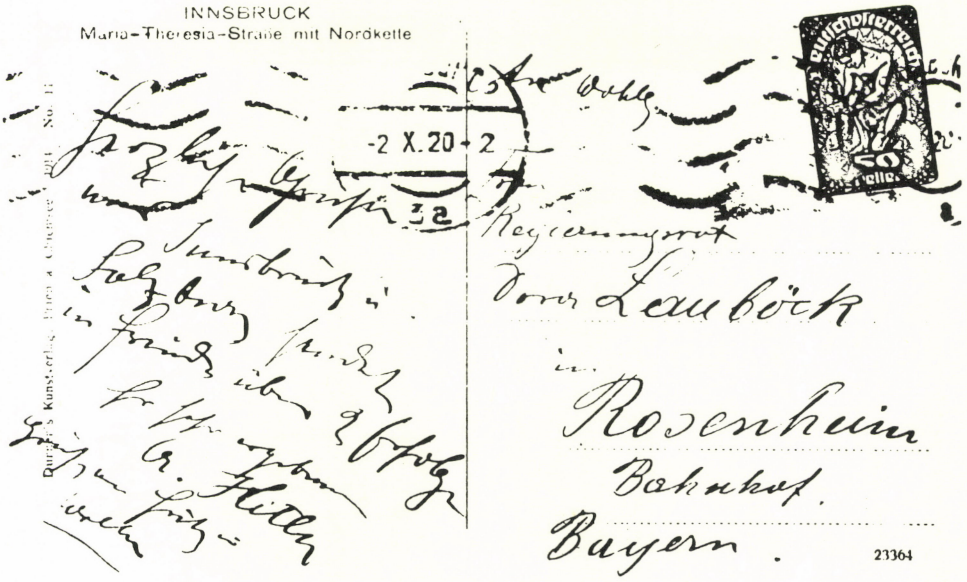
To you, dear Councillor and also
to your dear wife and children
I send my best regards in the hope
of meeting you soon.

Yours sincerely
Adolf Hitler

Kaiser Wilhelm I's motto
'From the Rock to the Sea' ought
to be changed here to:
'From Garlic Fumes to Mountain Air'.

Herr
Councillor
Lauböck

Rosenheim,
Bavaria.



Best wishes from
Innsbruck and Salzburg
in celebration of
two successes,

Yours truly
Adolf Hitler

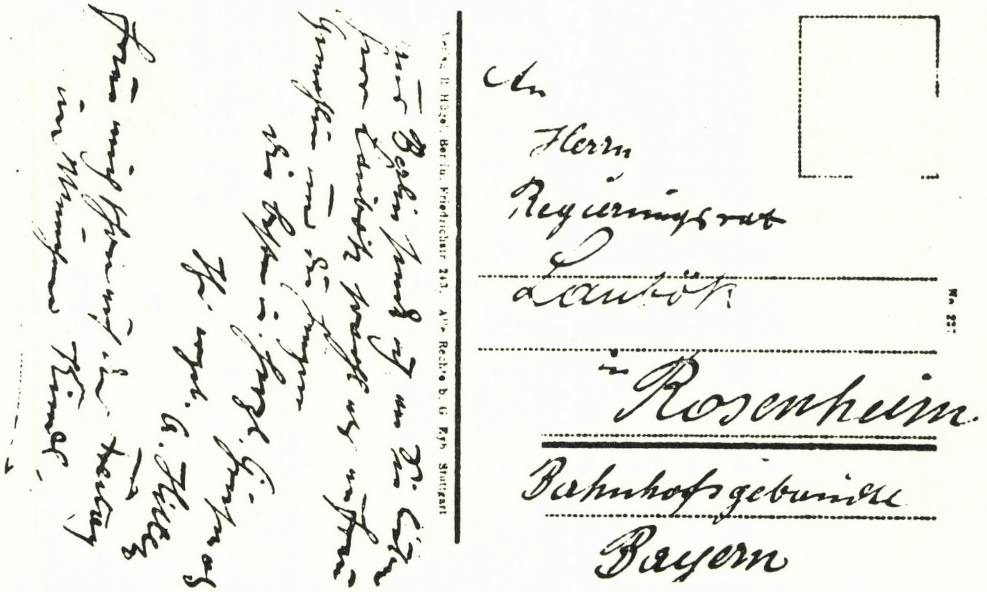
Kind regards to
Fritz and Wolter*

To Frau
Councillor

Dora Lauböck

Rosenheim,
Bavaria.

* The Lauböcks' two sons.



Kindest regards to you, dear Herr Lauböck
and also to your wife and boys, from Berlin.
Yours sincerely
A. Hitler

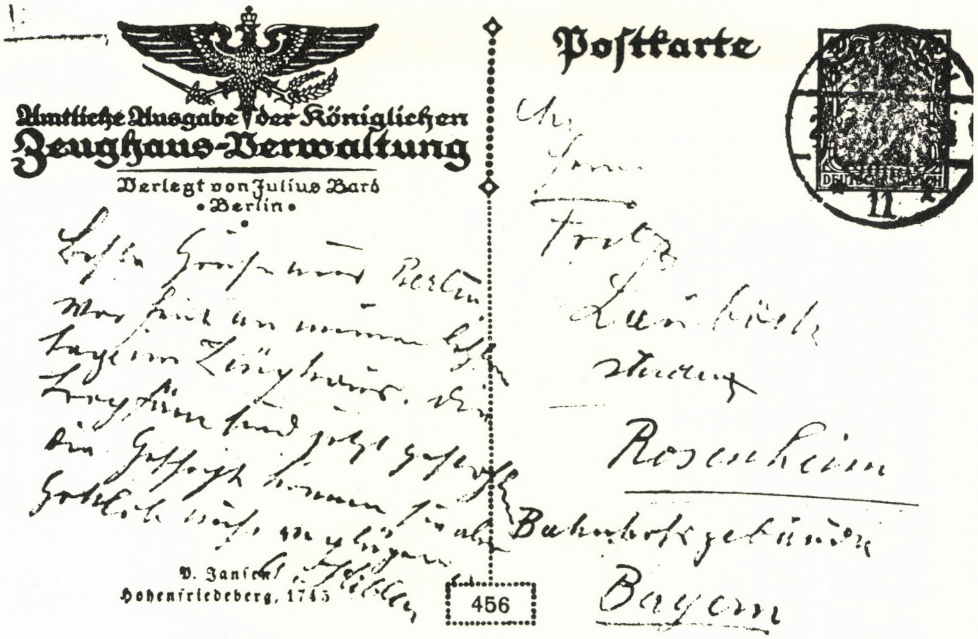
I am looking forward to Friday
in the Münchner Kindl!

To

Herr

Councillor

Lauböck



To
Herr
Fritz

Lauböck (jun.)

Kindest regards from Berlin.
I spent my last day here
in the Arsenal. All the
trophies have been carried off.
Thank God they cannot
lie history away.

A. Hitler

The recipients of these and similar messages usually dropped the familiar 'Du' in their replies. This is what happened to August Kubizek, to Jakob Weiss and even to Fritz Seidl, all of whom Hitler himself continued to address as 'Du' even after 1933.

Adolf Hitler — Berlin, 20 February, 1933

Dear Jackl Weiss,
Sincerest thanks for your congratulations. I am especially gladdened by the interest my old comrades are taking.

In memory of the old days,
Adolf Hitler

To Herr Jacob Weiss
Abens/Hellertau.

Adolf Hitler — Berlin, den 20.2.1933.

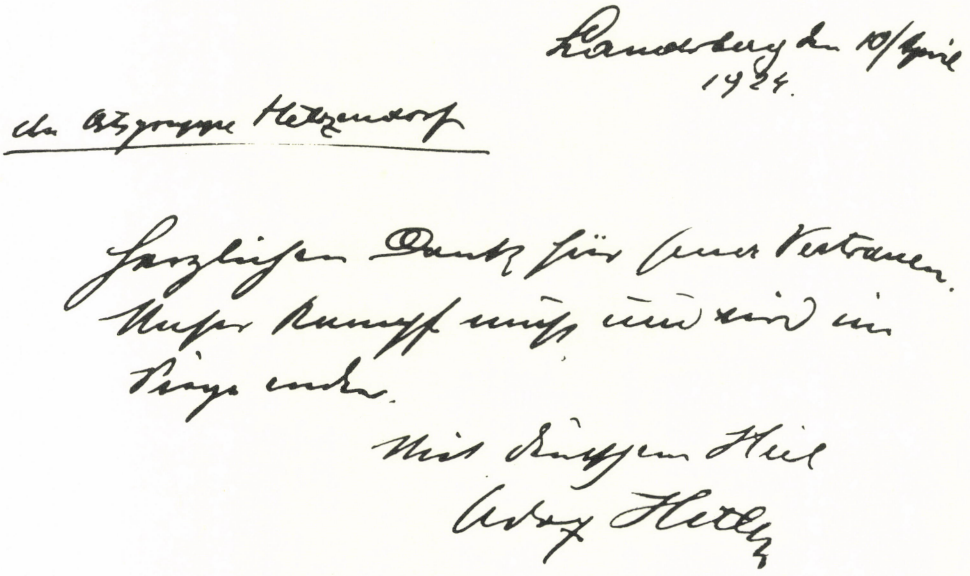
Lieber Weiss Jackl !

Herzlichen Dank für Deinen Glückwunsch. Ich freue mich besonders über die Anteilnahme meiner alten Kameraden.

In alter Erinnerung

Herrn Jakob Weiss,
Abens/Hallertau.

After the November Putsch (1923), in the wake of which his health suffered badly,* Hitler began to play the part of the political leader and sage. To that end, he coined slogans and inspirational mottoes for the benefit of one and all:



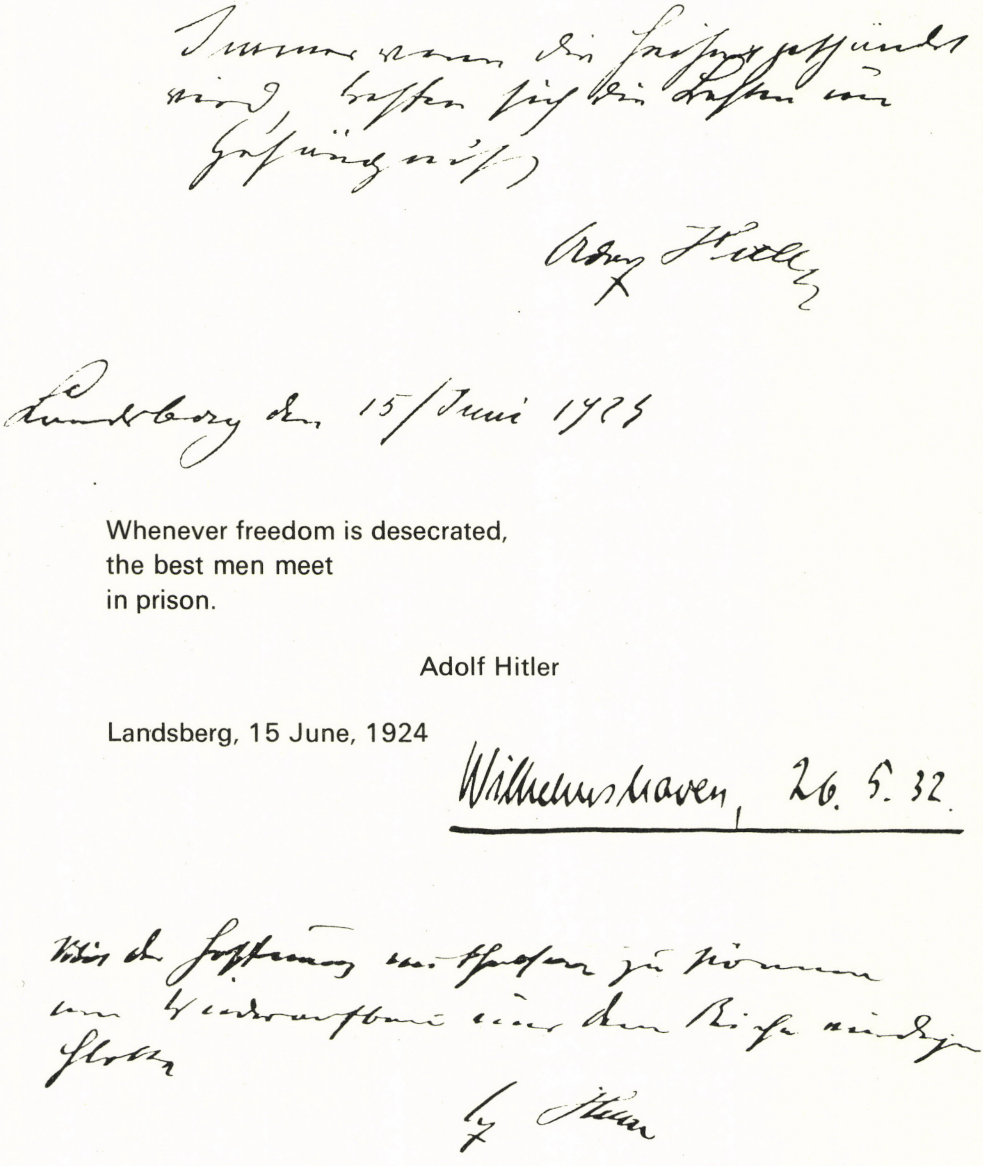
Landsberg, 10 April, 1924.

To the Hetzendorf Group

Sincere thanks for your confidence.
Our struggle must and will end
in victory!

With German Heil!
Adolf Hitler.

* Hitler's 'left arm and leg kept trembling. The movement of his forearm was restricted. Twenty years later, his personal physician, Dr Theo Morell, declared that his illness might well have been psychogenic. The sudden end of his Putsch, his complicity in the death of some 20 people, the dissolution of his party and his arrest left their marks upon him.' *Cf.* Maser: *Adolf Hitler*, p. 326.



Whenever freedom is desecrated,
the best men meet
in prison.

Adolf Hitler

Landsberg, 15 June, 1924

Wilhelmshaven, 26 May, 1932
In the hope that I may play my part in reconstructing
a navy worthy of the Reich,

Adolf Hitler

On 29 November, 1921, four months after his first 'seizure of power' and his proclamation as 'Führer' of the NSDAP (National Socialist German Labour Party)* Hitler had struck a more modest note. 'Dear Herr Doctor,† Herr Eckart‡ tells me you have once again evinced interest in my development as a party leader. I therefore permit myself to present the following brief curriculum vitae:

'I was born on 20 April, 1889 in Braunau am Inn, the son of the local post official Alois Hitler. My entire schooling consisted of five years of Primary School and four years of Middle School. I always intended to become an architect and had I not turned to politics, I think I should have chosen just that vocation. Since, as you probably know, I was orphaned at the age of 17 years and, moreover, lacked private means – the entire fortune I took with me to Vienna was 80 crowns – I was forced to earn my living as a simple worker. When I was not yet eighteen, I became a labourer on a building site and during the next two years did every conceivable type of casual labour. In my spare time, I studied the history of art, of civilization and of architecture as much as my means allowed and also took an interest in political problems. Though I came from a fairly cosmopolitan family, the school of harsh reality turned me into an antisemite within barely a year. Even then, however, I felt unable to join any of the existing parties.

With tremendous effort I was able to teach myself to paint in my spare time and this so well that from the age of 20 I earned what was at first a bare livelihood by this work. I became an architectural draughtsman and painter and by the age of 21 I was almost completely independent. In 1912, I moved permanently to Munich where I practised my new profession. During the first four years of my stay – from the age of 20 to 24 years – I became more and more involved in politics, not so much through meetings as through a thorough study of practical economics and also of all of the available antisemitic literature.

From my 22nd year onwards, I applied myself with special fervour to military writings and throughout these years I never missed a chance of studying general history.

* *Cf.* p. 119.

† The recipient's name cannot be established.

‡ Dietrich Eckart (1868–1923), journalist, poet and playwright, was a very influential friend to whom Hitler owed a great deal. *Cf.* Maser: *Die Frühgeschichte der NSDAP*, pp. 178ff and 509.

I took no active part in politics even in those years. I refused to address any meetings if only because none of the existing parties attracted me in the least.

During that time, too, my final objective was absolutely fixed. I would become an architect.

On 5 August, 1914, after a successful petition to His Majesty King Ludwig III, I reported to the First Bavarian Infantry Regiment for acceptance into the German army. After being kept waiting for a few days, I was assigned to the Second Infantry Regiment, and on 16 August I joined the Sixteenth Bavarian Reserve Infantry Regiment which was then being formed. The regiment, known as the 'List' regiment, was the first Bavarian volunteer regiment to go to the front and received its baptism of fire at the end of October 1914 during the 'Battle of the Yser'.

It was one of those volunteer regiments that was almost completely wiped out within a few days.

On 2 December, 1914, I was awarded the Iron Cross, 2nd Class. I remained with my regiment and was wounded in the battle of the Somme on 7 October, 1916 (by shell splinters in my left upper thigh), and on 10 October, 1916, the anniversary of my marching out, I was back home again for the first time, as a casualty.

After a two months' stay in the Beelitz hospital near Berlin, I was transferred to the Replacement Battalion of the Second Munich Infantry Regiment and again volunteered for active service. On 1 March, 1917, I was back with my old regiment, and on 17 September, 1917, I was awarded the Military Service Cross, Third Class with Sword; on 9 May, 1918, the Regimental Diploma, on 4 August, 1918, the Iron Cross, First Class; on 18 May, 1918, the Black Badge for Wounded Soldiers; and on 25 August, 1918, the Service Medal, Third Class.

During the night of 13 October, 1918, I was poisoned by mustard gas and lost my sight completely for a time. I was sent from Werwick in Flanders to the Military Hospital in Pasewalk near Stettin. Since my sight was restored in a relatively short time and since, moreover, the Revolution had started on 9 November, I asked for a speedy transfer to Munich and on 18 December was back with the First Battalion, 2nd Infantry Regiment. During the Soviet interlude, I remained on the conscription list and when the Red crew was beaten down I was assigned to the Investigation Committee of the Infantry Regiment and then transferred to the 41st Rifles as educational

officer. In this regiment and in other formations, too, I delivered a series of educational talks on the insanity of the bloodthirsty Red dictatorship and saw to my delight that, when the German army was pared down, it was from these formations that the first group of my later adherents emerged.

In June 1919 I joined the German Workers' Party, then consisting of 7 members, and in which I believed I had at long last found a political movement in keeping with my ideals. – Today the number of its members in Munich alone has grown to $4\frac{1}{2}$ thousand, and I may proudly take personal credit for a large part of this work.

Allow me to close now.

Yours faithfully,
Adolf Hitler.

Significantly enough, Hitler saw fit to mention some of these 'facts' in *Mein Kampf*, where he repeated the lie that his father had been a postal, not a customs, official, that he himself had attended four years of Lower Middle School (*Unterrealschule*) when his schools in Linz and Steyr had, in fact been Upper Schools (*Überrealschulen*); that, after his mother's death he had gone to Vienna without 'private means' so that he was 'forced to earn [his] living as a simple worker'; that he had moved to Munich 'permanently' in 1912 when, in fact, he went there in 1913; that he had been an 'educational officer' after the German defeat when he was only a V-man or Army delegate; that he had joined the German Workers' Party in 1919 when it consisted of a mere 7 members (in fact he was its 55th member). Moreover he did not join the Party in June 1919 as he claimed, for he was not accepted until September 1919.

For the rest, by November 1923, the time of his abortive Beer Hall Putsch, which, by rights, ought to have put an end to his political career, Hitler had achieved much more than he could ever have hoped to do. In September 1919, while still in the army, he became a member of the German Workers' Party (DAP); by 13 November, 1919, he had already been appointed its propaganda leader. The sudden growth of the party, and the opening of the first party offices in the 'Sterneckerbräu' hostelry, Munich, on 1 January, 1920, were essentially his doing, and so was the publication of the party programme on 24 February, 1920,* and the acquisition of the *Völkischer Beobachter*

* The date on which the DAP changed its name to NSDAP (National Socialist German Workers' Party).

(until 9 August, 1919, the *Münchener Beobachter*) by the NSDAP in December 1920.* By the time he composed his brief 'curriculum vitae' (on 29 November, 1921), he had thus become quite indispensable to the NSDAP. In particular, he had brought in by far the greatest majority of its members and followers, had helped it to absorb allied political organizations and associations, and had gained it a host of influential friends. The fact that, very early on, he let it slip out that his methods involved open terror† and a showdown with the government, benefited rather than harmed his party. Moreover, going to prison for his beliefs‡ and risking extradition as an undesirable alien was considered by many, and not only by his party comrades, as a sign of great personal devotion to the 'Fatherland'. In short, well before 1923 he had made sure that the NSDAP had become a powerful factor in German politics, and one that no government could afford to ignore.

After the failure of his Putsch, Hitler's letters became even more remote and impersonal. A case in point was the letter of thanks he sent from detention in Landsberg Fortress to Frau Deutschenbauer. Although he had known this lady for many years, his message was deliberately couched in terms usually reserved for strangers:

Landsberg on the Lech, 1 October, 1920.

Dear Frau Deutschenbauer,

A few days ago Frau Reichart was kind enough to bring me your plum cake. It was a brief reminder of the time which I spent near you when I was a soldier and also a sign that you have not forgotten me. Please accept my cordial thanks for this attention.

With kindest regards to you and your husband, I remain,

Yours sincerely,
Adolf Hitler.

* According to his own declaration of 16 November, 1921, before the Munich Registration Court, Hitler had acquired all the shares of the *Völkischer Beobachter* and of the Franz-Eher Publishing Company in Munich by November 1921.

† Thus on 14 and 15 October, 1922, he started a 'street battle' during 'German Day' in Coburg during which scores of people were brutally attacked by his storm-troopers.

‡ On 12 January, 1922, Hitler was sent to prison for three months for breaking up a meeting of the Peasant Union, but only had to serve part of that time (14 June to 24 July, 1922).

At the same time, Hitler developed a special style of addressing political associates and influential friends, among them the District Commander of the Freystadt Patriotic Defence Alliance:*

Landsberg on the Lech,
20.10.24

Patriotic Defence Alliance,
District Commando Freystadt,
Upper Austria.
Attention: W. Hollitscher, District Commander.

Dear Herr District Commander,

A few days ago I received your announcement of the presentation of colours to the Patriotic Defence Alliance, District Commando Freystadt. Would you receive my belated congratulations on that occasion, and also my sincere thanks for the pledges of loyalty you transmitted to me. For the rest I have only one desire: that the day may soon come in which my former homeland is incorporated in the glorious wreath of German states, in a united Greater Germany.

With true German greetings,
Yours sincerely,
Adolf Hitler.

Compare this with yet another letter to the Deutschenbauers, whom, like so many old friends, he now treated with cool politeness:

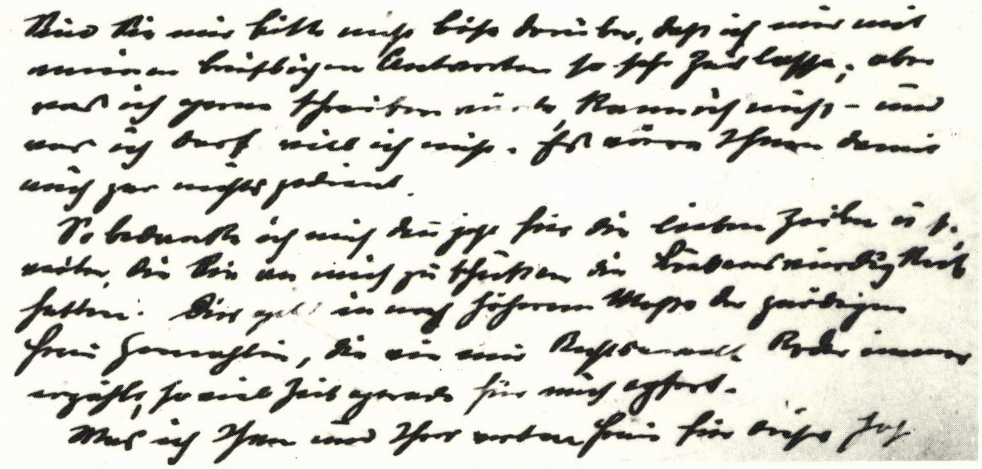
Munich, 7 May, 1925.

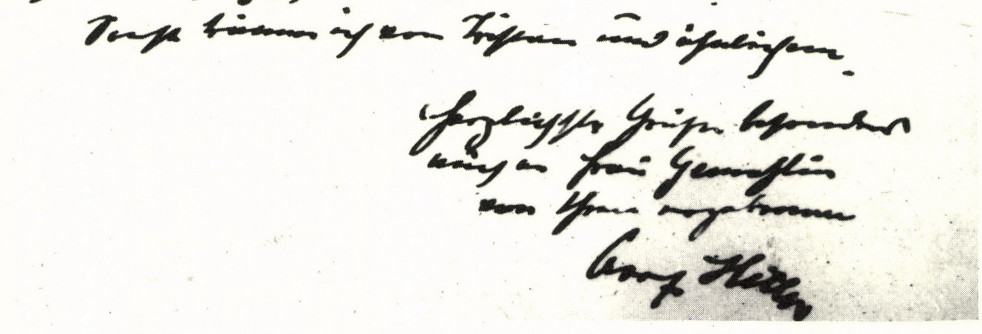
Dear Herr Deutschenbauer and family,
Please accept my cordial thanks for your congratulations on the occasion of my birthday. With German Heil

Adolf Hitler.

There were only a very few acquaintances to whom Hitler still wrote by hand, even from Landsberg, where he had begun to dictate

* Two years later, in September 1926, he used quite a different tone when he admonished the leaders of that association not to weaken. *Cf.* p. 117.





most of his letters and also the manuscript* of *Mein Kampf*[50] to secretaries. When he alleged on 29 March, 1942, that, 'as early' as 1935, he had found it difficult to write letters by hand,[51] he conveniently forgot that, even ten years earlier, he had most of his letters typed, so much so that it is extremely difficult to determine who made the many mistakes in them.[52] From his handwritten letters, by contrast, it is clear that he had a feeling for German usage long before he became a German citizen.[53] Thus, on 10 October, 1924, he wrote a flawless letter from Landsberg to a composer friend in Munich:

Please do not be angry with me for taking so long over my answers; but what I would like to write I may not, and what I may write I will not. Nor would it help you in any way. So let me just thank you for the kind words etc. you were good enough to send me. This remark applies even more to your dear wife, who as Herr . . . keeps telling me, sacrifices so much of her time on my behalf. You know how much happiness I wish you and your dear wife for the New Year. I am afraid it will be one of the bitterest years in German history.

I am getting rid of my anger by writing my vindication, of which I hope that at least the first part will survive the trial and myself. For the rest I dream of Tristan and the like.

Best wishes to you and to your wife,
Yours sincerely,
Adolf Hitler

Although Hitler ought to have learnt by then that a politician must not allow himself to be side-tracked, he kept uttering 'convictions', 'final decisions', 'resolutions' and 'intentions' even when there was no need. Thus he explained to the wife of his composer friend on 28 May, 1928, that he could not stand godfather to her son because his life was much too unsettled for him to assume so great a responsibility. It was for that very reason that he had taken the decision never again to accept godfathership.

* *Cf.* p. 137.

Mit großer Freude erfüllt es mich, von
Ihr die schönen Gaben Ihrer Kinder zu sehen. Hoffe sie Sie
daß die Pflege der schweren Stunden Ihr gut über=
standen haben. Ihnen und den Ihrigen wünsche ich
vom Herzen alles Gute. Und so muß ich mich
heute, daß ich Ihnen Mitteilung über Ihr Befinden zu über=
senden nicht unterlassen kann, Ihnen innerhalb
Übergehung eines auf sich jeder Frau ein Recht von
Ihnen Ihnen wenigstens einen gewissen Einfluß
zu wenden. Bei meinem einsamen Leben, der
Unbekanntheit meiner ganzen Person und Schwäche
meiner Fähigkeit wäre ein solche Hingabe meinerseits
noch als gewinnsüchtig. Es ist dies zu der Grund warum
ich selbst mich noch zu einer Heirat entschließen
kann. Ich habe deshalb Ihnen Ihre Hoffnung gründ=

lichig jede Verbindlichkeit abgelehnt. Meine
Lage Verbindlichkeit übernommen ich während meiner
Lehrlingszeit für den kleinen Jungen von
Ober Ihnen Gatten sich damals auf der Schule
in Bürgstein befand. Leider Ihnen in diesem
Fache war es mir nicht möglich dem Jungen
die Einjährigenberechtigung zu verschaffen die er
vielleicht von seinem Vater hätte erwarten
dürfen. Abgesehen davon daß mir mein da=
maliger Chef in solchen Dingen sehr
übel genommen würde. Ich habe deshalb nicht
mehr den einbändigen Verbindlichkeit gehabt
mir mehr wieder eine Verbindlichkeit zu übernehmen.

I was delighted to learn of the happy birth of your boy. God be praised that you have come out of your difficult hours so well. To you and the boy I send my heartfelt congratulations. I regret all the more that I cannot accede to your request that I become his godfather. It is my deepest conviction that every child has the right to expect some signs of affection from his godfather. But what with my unsettled life, the uncertainty of my whole existence and particularly of my future, I doubt whether I could bestow that affection upon the child. That is also the reason why I cannot make up my mind to marry. I have accordingly been refusing godfatherships on principle for a number of years. The last time I stood godfather was during my detention when I did so for Esser's lad, whose father had escaped from Germany. But even in that case I could not give the boy the attention he might rightly have expected from a godfather. Worse still, my godfathership was taken amiss by many people. I have therefore been strengthened further in my immutable decision never to become a godfather again.

Yours

Adolf Hitler.

Despite this 'immutable decision', Hitler not only agreed to become godfather to the children of his closest associates – including Himmler, Bormann, Göring and Goebbels – but also to countless children of large families whose parents were quite unknown to him. The letters he signed on these occasions generally read as follows:



Above: Hitler and Ludendorff on 26 February, 1924, after the Hitler-Ludendorff trial.

Below: Hitler on 20 December, 1924, immediately after his release from Landsberg Fortress.



Dear Frau . . .

I have just been informed of your request that I stand godfather to your last-born son. I agree to this request and gladly accept the offer. I wish your son all the best for his future life.

With German greetings,

Adolf Hitler.

Hitler could never have written the kind of free-and-easy letters Bismarck sent to relatives and friends. In particular he could never have written to a journalist what Bismarck wrote to Herr Wagner, the editor of the *Kreuzzeitung*, on 30 June, 1850: 'I am leading an utterly lazy life, smoking, reading, walking and playing the *pater familias* . . . I laze in the grass, read poetry, listen to music and wait for the cherries to ripen.' Instead, when he was released from Landsberg and made up his mind to present a new face to the world, his letters grew ever more stilted.

Adolf Hitler
Patriotic Defence Alliance
Viertel unter dem Wienerwald
Baden near Vienna

Munich, 29 September, 1926

I was delighted to receive the photographs of your propaganda tour which gave me concrete proof – since I could not unfortunately come over myself – that truly determined groups are active even in my old homeland.

Do not weaken and continue to work with all your strength; if our great common aim is pursued everywhere in deeds, our final success is assured.

Heil to the future National-Socialist Greater Germany!

Adolf Hitler.

Adolf Hitler

Munich, 5 September, 1932
Brown House.

To Reisberg District Council
Wolfsberg/Carinthia.

I wish to thank you for the great honour of granting me the freedom of your district.

I hereby accept your offer.

With German greetings,
Adolf Hitler.

Departures from this bureaucratic style only appeared in letters dealing with the history of the NSDAP or with Hitler's own beginnings. Towards the end of the Second World War, for instance, when Germany's defeat should have driven all petty personal concerns from his mind, he was still infuriated by alleged forgeries of his early drawings and paintings.[54] He liked to harp on the early days, as witness the following, earlier letter:

Adolf Hitler

Berlin, 15 December, 1933

Dear Herr Wiegand,

It is only today that I can thank you for your letter of the 11th ult. and especially for the copy of the first membership list of the German Workers' Party for which I asked you during your last visit here.

The list is particularly important to me since it is one of the far too few mementoes from the earliest days of our struggle, in which you yourself played an active part.

Cordial thanks also for sending me your book *Brauder Heinrich*, which I am happy to acknowledge.

With best wishes,
Adolf Hitler.

Herr F. Wiegand
Leipzig
Gottschedstrasse 24/11

By November 1923, Hitler's party comrades had not only forgiven their Führer, as they called him from the summer of 1921 onwards, for his abortive Putsch, but assured him that he had done the right thing, that they accepted him without question and that, now as ever, he was the only possible leader of the 'National Socialist Movement'. They continued to seek and take his advice, even in trivial matters, as may be seen in the following reply he sent to one of them:

Landsberg on the Lech, 20.10.24.

Dear Herr Richter,

Your question is simple to answer. Quite obviously when the quality and price are the same, the German buyer must always choose a German product. However, there are now so many industrial, technological and chemical products that one is often forced to get some from abroad because, like certain raw materials, these products are simply not obtainable or produced in our country. A German who, for instance, needs a private car for carrying 4–5 passengers and cannot afford more than 3 to 4,000 marks will be fully entitled to buy a Ford even if he is a Nationalist, for as long as there is no German product at the same price and value he is not harming German industry, if only because he cannot afford to buy a German car. Moreover, the Reich levies an enormous import duty on foreign cars, which benefits the whole nation.

Only when we ourselves can manufacture this type of car, will it be every German's clear duty to purchase the German product.

With sincere thanks for the greetings from the Gmund local group, which I hereby reciprocate, I remain

Yours very truly

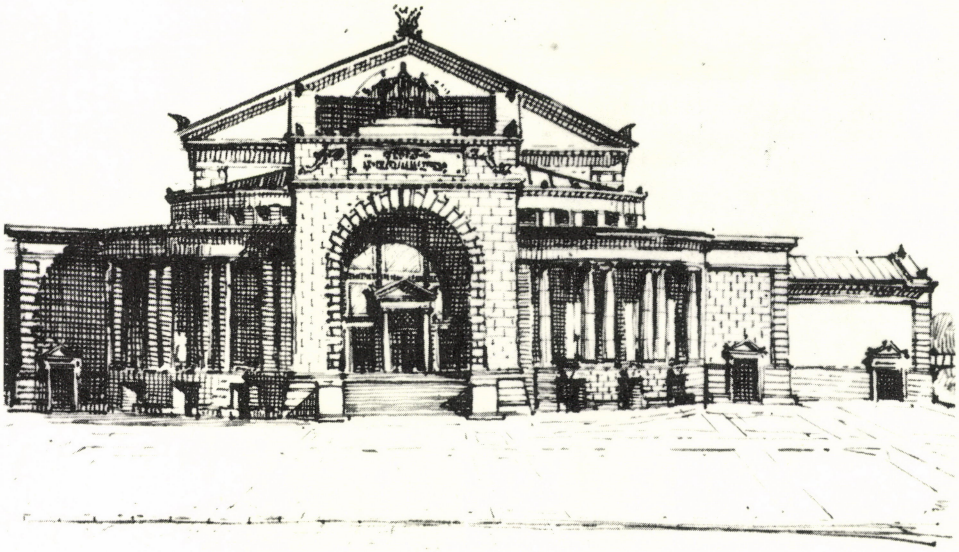
Adolf Hitler.

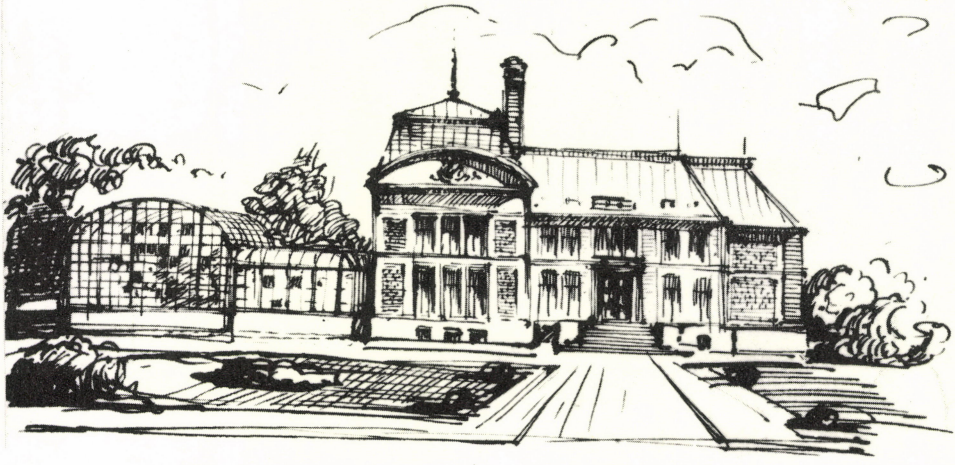
In Landsberg Fortress, which Hitler occasionally called his university, he not only produced *Mein Kampf* but also a series of small-scale carefully executed water-colours of architectural subjects. They were much less artificial and pompous than his letters and aphorisms dating from that period. In them we can still detect the Hitler of the 'early days'. Thus even while he was dictating *Mein Kampf*,[55] writing weighty letters and stilted inscriptions, in his architectural drawings he would try to escape from the onerous present into the 'healthy' past. This may explain why he kept these sketches to the end of his life and preserved them like so many jewels.* Moreover, while his letters were a mass of contradictions[56] and full of crudities,[57] his sketches were simple and often quite charming. In any case, he always carried them in his wallet or kept them in his desk, together with a four-leaved clover and an invitation to a school dance in Linz.[58] It was during his detention in Landsberg that he designed the 'most monumental building of all time',[59] a vast dome 725 feet in height with an auditorium 820 feet in diameter and holding from 150,000 to 180,000 persons.† Albert Speer later modelled a host of official buildings on this sketch, and a comparison of the original‡ and Speer's models show clearly that Speer's ideas were much less sensitive than Hitler's. Hitler often rebuked him for it, pointing out that he planned without

* Shortly before he took his life in the bunker of the Reichs Chancellery in Berlin, he asked his secretary Christa Schröder to remove the sketches from his desk and to take them away with her. During her imprisonment by the Allies, Christa Schröder pretended that all the sketches were the work of her grandfather.

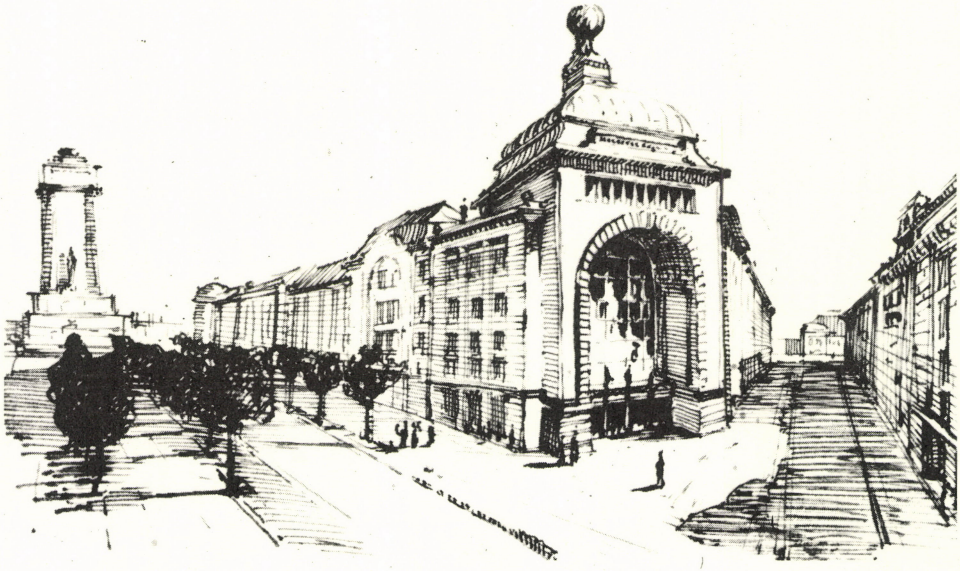
† This building would have held seventeen times as many people as St Peter's in Rome.

‡ Reproduced in Speer's *Memoirs*, p. 160.









thought or any sense of proportion. On 6 November, 1937, for instance, he rejected a plan by Kleinschmidt, the State Railway Architect, to construct a 370-foot high reception building for South Berlin Station,[60] with a façade designed by Speer. Hitler told them that 230 feet was the maximum height and that they had failed to consider both the flight path to Berlin airport and also the planned 400-foot high triumphal arch.[61] And on 11 September, 1940, when Speer hinted that he would gladly see the old Reichstag pulled down because it interfered with his town plans. Hitler rebuked him sharply: 'You have no respect for old things.'[62] On 15 March, 1941, he told a number of architects that while he was alive, the Reichstag would have to stay, no matter how ill-chosen its site. Let someone after him pull it down and bear the responsibility. He himself would not, the less so as the building and its eclectic Renaissance style had special associations with his early political struggle.[63]

On Hitler's 1925 sketch, which reflects the influence of several leading architects, a central cube supports a low dome that fits it as naturally as does the less majestic gabled portico. Speer's reading of Hitler's blueprint can hardly be called a happy one: Hitler's rounded and pleasing form has been coarsened and flattened almost beyond recognition.

In general, 'master builder' Hitler left his architects a relatively free hand. He granted Albert Speer what can only be called *carte blanche* for the reconstruction of Berlin, three days after the Franco-German armistice, on 25 June, 1940:





ADOLF HITLER

Headquarters
Berlin, 25 June, 1940.

Berlin must be reconstructed as soon as possible so as to reflect the grandeur of the capital of a strong new Reich in keeping with the greatness of our victory.

In the completion of this, now the most important building project in the Reich, I see the most essential contribution towards the final assurance of our victory.

I expect its completion by 1950.

The same remarks apply also to the reconstruction of the cities of Munich, Linz, Hamburg and of the Party Halls in Nuremberg.

All officials of the Reich, the Länder, the municipalities and the Party must render every possible assistance to the General Building Inspector for the Capital in the implementation of his task.

Adolf Hitler.

ADOLF HITLER

Hauptquartier
BERLIN, DEN 25/Juni
1940

Berlin muß in kürzester Zeit durch seine bauliche Neugestaltung den ihm durch die Größe unseres Sieges zukommenden Ausdruck als Hauptstadt eines starken neuen Reiches erhalten.

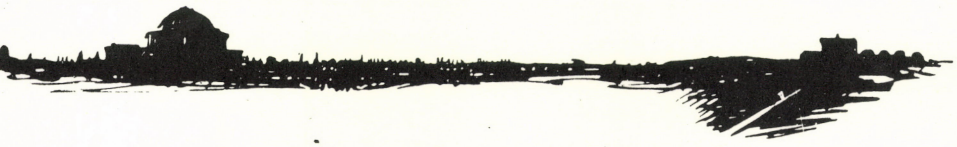
In der Verwirklichung dieser nunmehr w i c h t i g s t e n B a u a u f g a b e d e s R e i c h e s sehe ich den bedeutendsten Beitrag zur endgültigen Sicherstellung unseres Sieges.

Ihre Vollendung erwarte ich bis zum Jahre 1950.

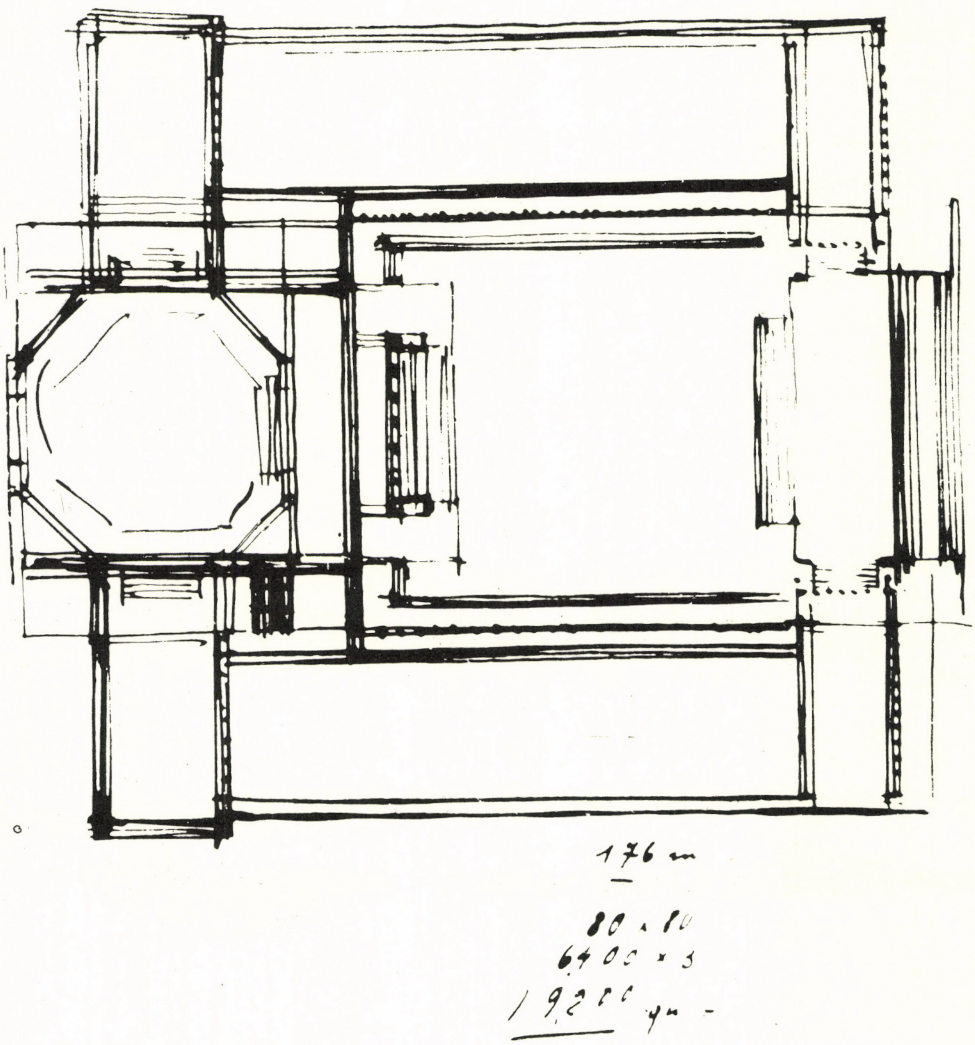
Das Gleiche gilt auch für die Neugestaltung der Städte München, Linz, Hamburg und die Parteitagbauten in Nürnberg.

Alle Dienststellen des Reiches, der Länder und der Städte sowie der Partei haben dem Generalbauinspektor für die Reichshauptstadt bei der Durchführung seiner Aufgaben jede geforderte Unterstützung zu gewähren.

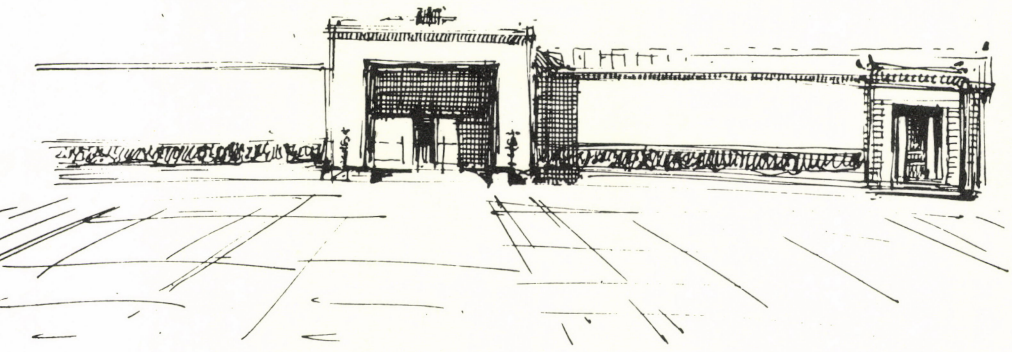
Linz was the subject of a great many of Hitler's sketches, including a silhouette showing the domes of the Hermann Göring Works (now VÖST) and the dome which Hitler intended to replace with a Bismarck Monument by Wilheim Kreis.



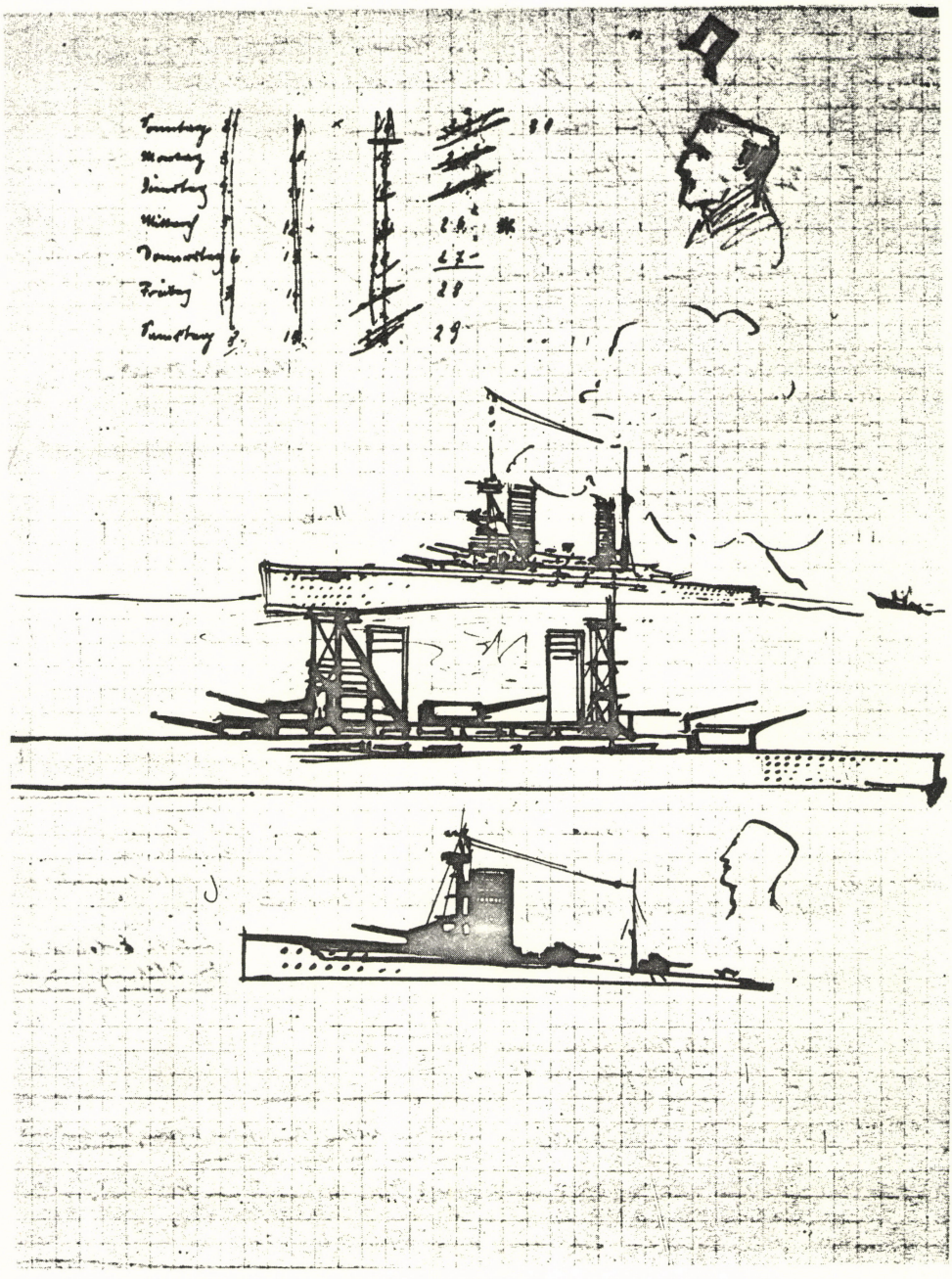
The *Invalides* in Paris, which Hitler admired so much that he inspected it three days after the armistice in the company of Albert and Arno Breker,[64] inspired his sketch for a building in Munich – the figure '176 m' beneath the plan refers to the distance from Brienner Strasse to the corner of Gabelsbergerstrasse.



Ever since his schooldays Hitler had taken an interest not only in town planning and architecture but also in shipbuilding, a subject with which he, a confirmed landlubber, was so much at home that Admiral Karl Dönitz declared in 1967: 'Naval officers who have spent some time with Hitler, for instance his naval adjutant, Rear-Admiral von Puttkammer, have told me that he is an expert on all the ships listed in Weyer's Naval Pocket Book. Because of his excellent memory he is better informed about their displacement, guns and armour than . . . many sailors in his entourage.'[65] Hence when he signed himself 'in the hope that I may play my part in reconstructing a navy worthy of the Reich'* he was not just trying to curry favour with the Navy, but was, in fact, expressing a fervent wish. Nor was it propaganda alone that made him wish that the coveted blue riband might soon wave 'from the masthead of a German ship'.[66] On 3 December, 1938, he gave orders to his Minister of Transport, Dorpmüller, to build a liner within three to four years that would be greater and faster than the *Queen Mary* or the *Normandie*,[67] thus earning German shipyards international renown. Though, at the time, he was already making active plans for his coming *blitzkrieg*, he nevertheless promised to release military equipment and staff (including shipyards, engineers and labourers).[68]



* *Cf.* p. 106.



One of Hitler's naval sketches.

Blatt 22

auf das Heer, auf den König und die Krone. Und wie wurde damals Bismarcks Tat bezeichnet ? Als Verfassungsbruch, als Hochverrat. Die ganze liberale presse sprach von dem junkerlichen Hochverräter. Was hat aber seine Tat legalisiert? Gewiss wäre wohl auch [illegible] ein Hochverrat geworden, wenn nicht aus dieser Tat heraus [illegible] gekommen wäre, das Deutsche Volk zu seiner Einigung gelangt und [illegible] nach dem siegreichen Kriege dieser Kanzler [illegible] unter Zustimmung aller deutschen Stämme dem Könige die Deutsche Kaiserkrone aufs Haupt gesetzt [illegible] hätte. Und das, was das kleine Brandenburg [illegible] gegen das Erzhaus Habsburg [illegible], nämlich die Verbreitung der Einigung über dem ganzen Raume, das ist im Zusammenschluss zum Deutschen Kaiserreiche aus jener [illegible] Tat geworden. Und wenn wir einen neueren Staatsstreich [illegible], so möchte ich an das Verhalten von Kemal pascha erinnern, der sich selbst über die heilige Gewalt des Oberhauptes der Mohamedanischen Religion hinweggesetzt hat, und der Türkei durch seinen Staatsstreich eine nationale Regierung gebracht hat. Die Tat Kemal Paschas ist letzten Endes legalisiert worden durch die [illegible] der Freiheit für sein türkisches Volk. Seine Tat würde Hochverrat gewesen sein, so aber wurde sie zum Segen für das Ganze. Und was zeigt uns das Beispiel Mussolinis ? Hat er nicht sich bis aufs Aeusserste eingesetzt und [illegible] Italiens [illegible] zu sammeln wussten und durch seinen Marsch nach Rom dem König und der Dynastie Ansehen und Freiheit [illegible] vom Marxismus [illegible]. Ich frage nun: Wie war denn eigentlich die Lage in Deutschland 1918? Keineswegs war die Verelendung und Erkrankung des Volkes eine derartige, dass eine Revolution als Naturnotwendigkeit hätte empfunden werden müssen. Das alte preussemund das ehemalige Reich war ohne Zweifel der am geordnetsten verwaltete Landesteil des ganzen [illegible]. Kein Staat verfügte über eine so ehrenhafte [illegible], kein Staat über eine solche Beamtenschaft, wie das alte Deutschland, kein Volk bessres eine Armee, in der höchste Ehrenhaftigkeit zur Tradition geworden war. Und wie innen so auch nach aussen. 26 Staaten haben sich gesammt, dieses Reich zu zerstören

A page for *Mein Kampf* with Hitler's corrections.

On 7 April, 1925, some three months after his premature release from Landsberg Fortress, Hitler applied to the authorities in his native Linz for 'release from Austrian citizenship'. His appeal was granted so that, from 1925 until he became a state councillor in February 1932,* he was a stateless person:

To the Municipal Council
Linz on the Danube.
Dear Sir,

Re: Request for release from Austrian citizenship.

I apply for release from Austrian citizenship on the following grounds:

I have been living in Germany since 1912, have served in the German army for close on 6 years including $4\frac{1}{2}$ years at the front, and intend to apply for German citizenship.

Since I cannot tell whether my Austrian citizenship has lapsed, and since I am not allowed to step on Austrian soil by virtue of a government order, I beg for a favourable answer to my request.

Personal data: Adolf Hitler, born 20 April, 1889, in Braunau am Inn, registered in Linz on the Danube.

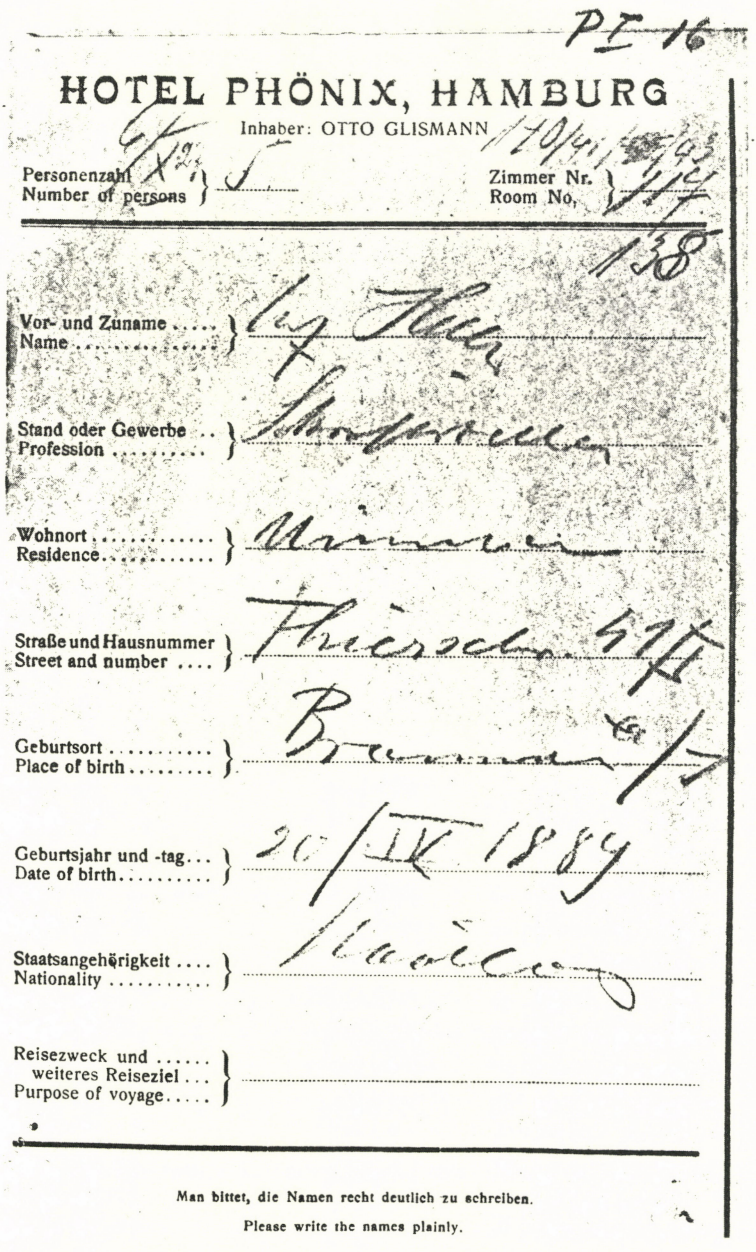
My personal papers went astray in November 1923, and are presumably lost.

Yours faithfully,
Adolf Hitler.

Munich, 7 April, 1925

* On 26 February, 1932, Adolf Hitler became a German citizen after swearing an oath of loyalty to the constitution of the German Reich and Länder and promising to respect the law and to fulfil his official duties conscientiously.

When staying overnight in hotels during 1925–1932 Hitler invariably gave his nationality as 'stateless'.



PE 16

HOTEL PHÖNIX, HAMBURG

Inhaber: OTTO GLISMANN

Personenzahl / Number of persons: 1

Zimmer Nr. / Room No.: 114

138

Vor- und Zuname / Name: Adolf Hitler

Stand oder Gewerbe / Profession: Schriftsteller

Wohnort / Residence: München

Straße und Hausnummer / Street and number: Prinzregentenstr. 16

Geburtsort / Place of birth: Braunau a/I

Geburtsjahr und -tag / Date of birth: 20/IV 1889

Staatsangehörigkeit / Nationality: staatenlos

Reisezweck und weiteres Reiseziel / Purpose of voyage:

Man bittet, die Namen recht deutlich zu schreiben.

Please write the names plainly.



Hitler greeting one of his former teachers from Leonding Primary School during his entry into Austria in the spring of 1938.

Though *Mein Kampf* is sorely lacking in style, Hitler showed subsequently that he could handle the German language with some facility. Thus when Dr Rudolf Wolters, who had been a town planner in Siberia before Hitler came to power, and who in 1937 was appointed divisional chief in the office of his old friend Albert Speer,* prepared a press communiqué to the effect that the Victory Column in Berlin was to be given an additional section and moved from its old position, Hitler made several corrections that improved Wolters' text. *Inter alia*, he changed Wolters' 'better site' to 'nobler site'.

Hitler had further occasion to improve Wolters' style towards the end of 1938. At the time Hitler had decided to pull down the Berlin City Hall, which he thought too provincial, and in order to prepare the public, he asked Wolters to send 'anonymous' letters to the press complaining that the Town Hall tower was an eyesore.† Before these letters went out Hitler not only read them but corrected them carefully, and even added a final touch of irony. The 'anonymous' campaign to demolish the City Hall was launched in 1938, the year of the Austrian Anschluss: Hitler accordingly changed Wolters' signature 'A citizen of the Reich' to 'A new citizen of the Reich'.[69]

* From 1941 to the end of 1944, Wolters was responsible for the so-called 'Chronicle', the diary of the various Speer departments. Speer refers to them in his *Memoirs*.

† Since the readers reacted negatively to these letters Hitler decided to leave well alone. Personal communication by Dr Wolters on 18 December, 1972.

An dieser Stelle wird die Siegessäule einen weitaus ~~bedeutenderen~~ würdigeren Platz haben als bisher, da sie sich nicht nur in der Blickrichtung der 12 km langen geraden Ostweststrasse befindet, sondern auch den verschiedenen Diagonalstrassen und -Wegen des Tiergartens einen weithin beherrschenden sichtbaren Abschluss gibt.

Bei ihrer Versetzung wird die Siegessäule in geringem Masse verändert werden.

Durch Einfügen einer vierten unteren Säulentrommel wird die Gesamthöhe des Denkmals um 6,4 om auf rd. 27 m vergrössert.

Fussgängertunnel,

die unter dem Platz des Grossen Sterns entstehen werden, ermöglichen dem Fussgänger sowohl die kreuzungsfreie Unterquerung der Ostwestachse an dieser Stelle, als auch den gefahrlosen Zugang zur Mittelinsel des Platzes.

Mit der Versetzung der Siegessäule wird am 1. Juli begonnen.

Straße Steigerung.

Doch eins stört dieses Bild - es sind nicht die fehlenden alten Bäume, auch nicht die dünnen Laternchen, - e s s t ö r t d e r T u r m , d e r R a t - h a u s t u r m .

Irgendwie steht er nicht richtig, irgendwie in Größe, Form, in städtebaulicher Position. Nicht, daß er aus der Achse gerückt ist - das ist es nicht. A u c h n i c h t d i e f r e m d e , k u n s t h i s t o - r i s c h e F o r m . Er paßt hier nicht hin - in diese Achse des neuen Berlin: Vom Knie über den Stern mit der Säule, über das klassische Preußentor, über das Schloßmonument Schlüters.

In diese Reihe gehört der Turm nicht, dieses etwas ausdrucks- und kraftlose Gebilde, das irgendwelchen südlichen Meisterwerken so schlecht nachgebildet ist.

Wie wäre es, wenn er gelegentlich verschwände! Ich glaube, daß sich kaum jemand fände, der gegen einen Abriß etwas einzuwenden hätte.

Ein Reichsbürger.

When he was released from detention in December 1924, Hitler's 'literary output' was confined to the dictation of draft speeches* and a few letters. He had stopped writing letters by hand almost entirely; the only exceptions were a few greeting cards to the Raubals† and brief letters of congratulation and condolence.‡ Eva Braun, whom he met in 1929 and who became his mistress at the beginning of 1932, was the only one to whom he invariably sent handwritten notes. On 23 April, 1945, a week before she committed suicide in the bunker of the Reichs Chancellery, Eva wrote to her sister Gretl and asked her to destroy 'an envelope addressed to the Führer and kept in the safe of the Bunker. Please do not read them! Please pack the Führer's letters and my draft replies . . . in a watertight container and if possible bury them. Please do not destroy them.'§

* *Cf.* p. 229ff.

† The family of his half-sister Angela in Linz. Angela's daughter, 'Geli' Raubal, later became Hitler's mistress. *Cf.* Maser: *Adolf Hitler*, pp. 23, 36, 59, 62, 66, 305, 312, 313, 315, 316, 318, 320, 321, 323–326, 363, 369, 389, 448 and 479.

‡ See his letter to 'Father Zegg', p. 141.

§ N. E. Gun: *Eva Braun – Hitler. Leben und Schicksal.* Velbert and Kettwig, 1968, p. 191. The letters have all been lost. Personal communication from Ilse Braun, 31 October, 1972.

Most of the official letters Hitler signed after his release were, according to Rudolf Schüssler,[70] composed by close confidants, including particularly Max Amann,[71] Rudolf Hess,[72] and Albert and Martin Bormann. Not one of them succeeded in turning out perfect copies of Hitler's style, so that it is quite easy to tell even from typewritten texts what few letters were drafted by Hitler himself.

Adolf Hitler

Munich, 21 September, 1932
Brown House.

Dear Herr Hoyer,

It was not until today that I had a chance to thank you for your painting 'The Storm Trooper' which you sent me for the Brown House. In your painting you have expressed the fighting spirit of the stormtroopers to perfection.

With German greetings,
Adolf Hitler

Herr H. O. Hoyer,
Oberstdorf,
Landhaus Hoyer*

* Letter dictated and signed by Hitler. Bundesarchiv Koblenz NS 26, 14.

Berlin, 9 November, 1936

Adolf Hitler

Dear Herr von Elmayer-Vestenbrugg,

You have given me considerable pleasure with the inscribed copy of your book *Georg Ritter von Schönerer, Father of Political Antisemitism.*

Please receive my belated but sincerest thanks for it.

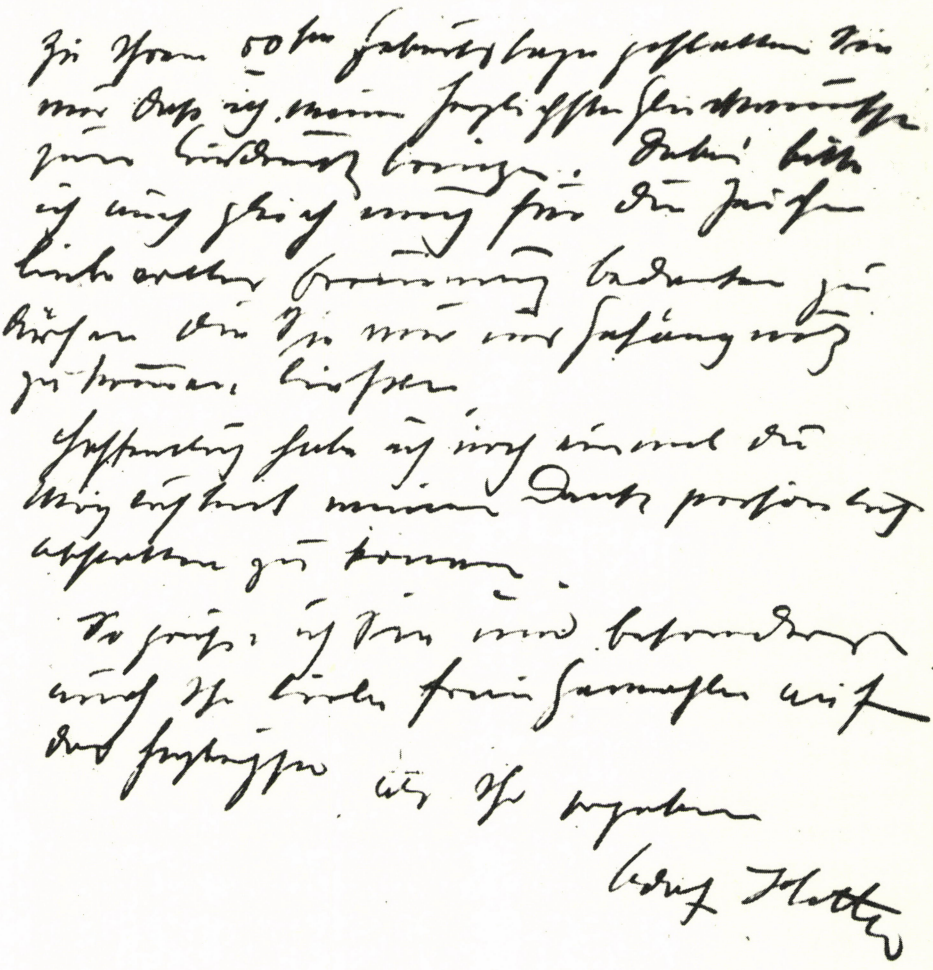
With German greetings,

Adolf Hitler

Herr Rudolf von Elmayer-Vestenbrugg,
Munich 2 NO,
Schönfeldstrasse 8/11*

Many of Hitler's earlier acquaintances were dismayed to discover, as early as 1919, that he had changed beyond recognition. This happened even to the Popps, on whom he had showered sentimental letters until 1915, and who, when they met him by chance in a restaurant[73] after the war, thought him strangely cool,[74] an impression, however, that Hitler's inscription[75] in his newly published *Mein Kampf* did not bear out: 'To Herr Joseph Popp on the occasion of Christmas 1925 and in cordial memory of the old days. Adolf Hitler.' Just as warm, if extremely polite, was the letter of congratulation he sent to his composer friend on the occasion of the latter's fiftieth birthday:

* Letter dictated and signed by Hitler. In *Mein Kampf* (pp. 107 and 120) he had previously expressed his great admiration of Georg von Schönerer, the spokesman of the 'Away-from-Rome' Movement and of Pan-Germanism.



Allow me to tender you my sincerest best wishes on the occasion of your 50th birthday. At the same time I would like to thank you for all the tokens of affection you showed me while I was in prison.

I hope that I shall have the opportunity to thank you in person. Most cordial regards to you and your esteemed wife.

Yours sincerely,
Adolf Hitler.

No less cordial was the letter of condolence he sent to an old acquaintance, whom he addressed familiarly as 'Father Zegg':

18 January, 1929

Dear Father Zegg,

I have just learned of the death of your dear wife. Moreover Schaub has also just told me that you have lost your daughter. On this great misfortune, dear Zegg, please accept my most heartfelt and sincere condolences. I suffer with you. In sincere sympathy,

Yours

Adolf Hitler.

Nor was there the slightest sign of 'statesmanlike' condescension in his last letters to his former history teacher, Professor Dr Leopold Poetsch from Linz, of whom he said in *Mein Kampf* that he had affected his entire life.* Indeed, in these letters Hitler tried to convey greater warmth and personal affection than he did in most other post-war letters. The correspondence began with a personal request by Poetsch, on 20 June, 1929, asking 'Esteemed Herr Hitler' for a copy of the relevant passage in *Mein Kampf*† which he was anxious to add to his family papers. Hitler replied with obvious delight, showing that, if need be, he could still give free rein to his emotions:

* *Cf.* Hitler, p. 12: 'Perhaps it affected my whole later life that good fortune sent me a history teacher who was one of the few who knew how to make . . . this approach the dominant one.'

† Bundesarchiv Koblenz NS 26/15. In this letter, Poetsch apologized for the 'simple salutation' he had used ('Esteemed Herr Hitler') and explained that he did not quite know how to address his former pupil.

18/Jan. 1929.

AH

Lieber Vater Fegg!

Soeben erhalte ich von Ihnen liebe Frau Gemahlin den erfreulich niederschmetternden Bescheid, dass Sie uns Ihr Fräulein Tochter nicht geben wollen. In diesem grossen Unglück bleibt Ihnen Fegg nichts übrig als mir meinen allerherzlichsten und aufrichtigen Beileidssympathiebezeugungen entgegenzunehmen.

Ich küsse mit Ihnen.

In aufrichtigem
Mitleid

Ihr
Ludwig Thoma

Adolf Hitler
Chancellery
Munich 13, Schellingstr. 50

Munich, 2 July, 1929

Dear Herr School Inspector,

Returning from a tour, I found your letter of 20 June. You can hardly imagine the pleasure it has given me, for I was suddenly taken back to my youth and to the hours I spent with a teacher to whom I owe an infinite debt, indeed who partly set me on the road I have since covered.

Instead of the passage you asked me for, I am sending you my whole book: you will find the relevant quotation at the beginning of Volume I. In the new edition, your first name will, of course, be corrected.

With cordial greetings and deep esteem,

Yours most sincerely,
Adolf Hitler.

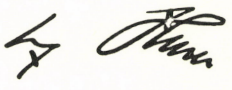
Eight years later, when Hitler thought he had one foot in the grave,[76] he wrote another personal letter to his old teacher. But this time he might as well have been addressing a perfect stranger – the man whose first letter had touched him so deeply had become one of the many thousands to whom the 'Führer' was forced to send routine acknowledgments:

Der Führer und Reichskanzler Berlin, den 30. Juni 1937.

Sehr geehrter Herr Professor!

Durch Vermittlung des Herrn Ministerialrats Karl Hagmüller in Wien erhielt ich heute Ihr Schreiben vom 4.Juni mit Ihrem Lichtbild aus dem Jahre 1900, also aus der Zeit, da Sie mein Lehrer waren. Ich habe mich über Ihre Zeilen wie über die wohlgelungene Photographie aufrichtig gefreut und sage Ihnen in Erinnerung an diese Jahre herzlichen Dank dafür. Ich freue mich zu hören, dass Sie trotz hohen Alters gesund und rüstig sind, und wünsche, dass Ihnen diese gute Gesundheit auch fernerhin erhalten bleibe.

Mit freundlichen Grüssen verbleibe ich
Ihr ergebener



The Führer and Chancellor Berlin, 30 June, 1937.

Dear Herr Professor,

Councillor Karl Hagmüller of Vienna has given me your letter of 4 June together with your photograph from the year 1900, when you were my teacher. I was most glad to receive your letter and the excellent likeness and thank you most sincerely for this keepsake. I am glad to hear that despite your advanced age you are well and fit and hope that you will continue to be in good health for a long time to come.

With friendly regards, I remain,
Yours sincerely, Adolf Hitler.

Immediately after Hitler became Chancellor, he received a short note from August Kubizek, to which he replied as follows:

Adolf Hitler

Munich, 4 August, 1933
Brown House.

My dear Kubizek,

Only today was your letter of 2 February presented to me, which is not surprising when you consider that I have received hundreds of thousands of messages since January. I was all the more delighted to receive news of you after so many years. I should very much like – when the time of my most difficult struggles is over – to revive the memory of these, the most beautiful years of my life, by a personal meeting. You might perhaps pay me a visit.

Wishing you and your mother all the best, I remain in memory of our old friendship,

Ever yours,

Adolf Hitler.

After the annexation of Austria, when he saw Kubizek in Linz, his old friend, not wishing to be considered over-familiar, addressed Hitler with the formal 'Sie', a fact that was not lost on the 'Führer'.

Hitler had come a long way since his early friendship with Kubizek. On 20 December, 1924, he had been released prematurely from Landsberg Fortress, and only two weeks later he was received by the Bavarian Prime Minister Heinrich Held, whom he assured that he had abjured violence. As a result, the ban on the NSDAP and on its mouthpiece the *Völkischer Beobachter* was lifted on 26 February, 1925. But the authorities were not fooled for long. On 9 March, 1925, they banned him from speaking in that province, and Prussia, Baden, Saxony, Hamburg and Oldenburg soon followed suit.* His rival, Gregor Strasser, took over the leadership of the NSDAP in North and

* Hitler could only address meetings in Württemberg, Thuringia, Brunswick and Mecklenburg-Schwerin. The ban was not lifted until 1927.

West Germany on 11 March, 1925, and the followers of General Ludendorff, who had still been wholeheartedly behind Hitler during the Putsch, had since deserted him. Not even in his own Bavarian patch did he go completely unchallenged: Friedrich Plümer and Otto May, two defectors from his ranks, wrote a fierce denunciation of him ('Adolf Hitler and his Mob') and called their former leader an unscrupulous adventurer at a number of public meetings. Anton Drexler, too, whom Hitler had ousted from the leadership of the NSDAP, turned openly against him, and it was only by the skin of his teeth that Hitler succeeded in recapturing control of the Party and, more especially, in getting it to agree to participate in Landtag and Reichstag elections.

He shrewdly defended his political philosophy, which he claimed had been 'finished' during his detention, chose and controlled his underlings with skill, set his rivals at one another's throats and occasionally made temporary compromises, until, at long last, he achieved the success in which he claimed he had never doubted.

On 30 January, 1927, the NSDAP decided to fight the Landtag elections in Thuringia and gained 2 out of the total of 56 seats. On 9 October, 1927, it also gained 2 out of the 160 seats (1.5% of the valid votes cast) in the Hamburg municipal elections and later 1 out of 48 seats (3.7% of the valid votes cast) in the Brunswick Landtag elections (November 1927). During the Reichstag elections on 28 May, 1928, the NSDAP collected 2.8% of the votes, during the Landtag elections on 12 May, 1929, 4.95% of the votes, during the Landtag elections in Mecklenburg-Schwerin of 23 June, 1929, 4% of the votes, during the Landtag elections in Baden on 28 October, 1929, 6.98% of the votes, during the Lubeck municipal elections on 11 November, 1929, 8.1% of the votes, and during the Landtag elections in Thuringia on 8 December, 1929, 11.31% of the votes and a request to appoint a Minister.* After that Hitler and his Party made even more rapid progress. On 22 June, 1930, the Landtag elections in Saxony brought the NSDAP 14.4% of the valid votes cast and soon afterwards it

* Hitler chose Dr Wilhelm Frick (executed in Nuremburg in October 1946), who was appointed Minister of the Interior and Education.

became the second strongest group in the German Reichstag.* At the same time, it collected 22.2% of the Brunswick Landtag votes, and on 15 September, 1931, the Party proposed Dietrich Klagges for the post of Minister of the Interior.

From then on the successes grew apace and at last freed Hitler from the fear that he might have to spend the rest of his life as a writer and publisher of National Socialist newspapers, pamphlets and books.

16 Nov. 1930: Volkstag elections in Danzig.
NSDAP: 16.1% of the votes (and 12 out of 72 seats).

30 Nov. 1930: Municipal elections in Bremen.
NSDAP: 25.6% of the votes (and 32 out of 120 seats).

3 May 1931: Landtag elections in Schaumburg–Lippe.
NSDAP: 26.9% of the votes (and 4 out of 15 seats).

13 May 1931: Landtag elections in Oldenburg.
NSDAP: 37.2% of the votes (and 19 out of 48 seats).
For the first time the strongest party in a Landtag.

13 March 1932: Hitler stands as President and obtains 30.23% of the votes at the first ballot.

10 April 1932: Hitler obtains 13.4 million votes (36.68%); von Hindenburg 19.4 million votes, and Thälmann (Communist) 3.7 million votes at the second ballot of the presidential election.

31 July 1932: Reichstag elections. NSDAP attracts 37.3% of the valid votes and becomes the strongest party in the German Reichstag, with 230 out of 608 seats.

6 Nov. 1932: Reichstag elections. Despite losses (31.1% instead of 37.3%) the NSDAP is still the strongest party in the German Reichstag.

* On 13 October, 1930, 107 Nazi deputies appeared in their brown shirts at the opening of the Reichstag. On 9 November, 1930, the NSDAP began to field its own candidates in Austria and obtained 5.4% of the votes cast in the general election. During the German Reichstag elections of 31 July, 1932, the party collected more than 37% of the valid votes and became the strongest group in the Reichstag (with 230 out of the 608 deputies).

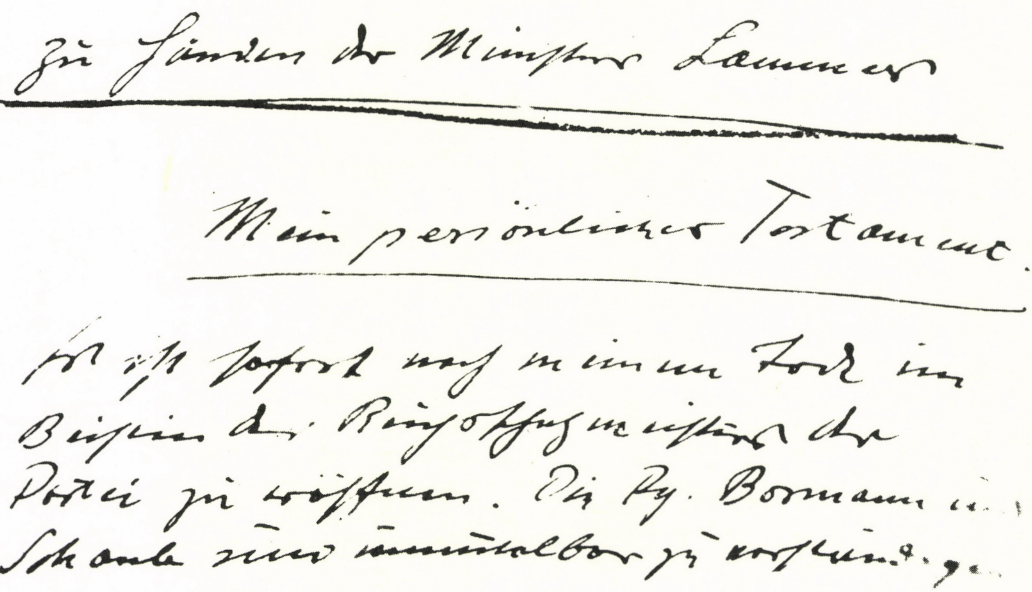


Adolf Hitler shortly before he came to power.

15 January 1933: Landtag elections in Lippe. NSDAP obtains 9 out of the 21 seats.

30 January 1933: Hitler appointed Reichs Chancellor by Paul von Hindenburg.*

One of the last documents Hitler wrote by hand before the outbreak of the Second World War was his Will and Testament of 2 May, 1938:



For the attention of Minister Lammers
My personal will.
To be opened immediately after my death in the presence of the Party Treasurer. Comrades Bormann and Schaub to be notified at once.

* Hitler came to power by legal means, though he systematically undermined the Weimar Constitution by exploiting the very freedom it granted him. Thus he had Dr Goebbels write in the *Angriff* on 30 April, 1928: 'We are going into the Reichstag to arm ourselves with weapons from the arsenal of democracy. We are becoming Reichstag deputies so as to paralyse the Weimar spirit with its own sting. If democracy is stupid enough to give us *carte blanche*, we do not complain . . . If these elections help us to place 60 to 70 of our agitators into the various parliaments, then the state itself will help to equip our fighting maching and pay for its upkeep . . . Let no one think that parliamentarianism is our Damascus . . . we come as enemies! We come amongst you as the wolf comes amongst the sheep.'

Mein Testament.

Für den Fall meines Todes verfüge ich:

1.) Mein Leichnam soll nach München überführt in der Feldherrnhalle aufgebahrt und im ersten Tempel der ewigen Wache beigesetzt (also der Tempel neben dem Führerbau) werden. Mein Sarg soll den der übrigen gleichen.

2.) Mein gesamtes Vermögen vermache ich der Partei. Da mir der Partei verbleibe abgeschlossenen Verträge gegenüber nicht bricht. Über die nach verfassungsmäßigen oder künftigen Einrichtungen meinen Nachlaß verfügt die Partei.

3.) Die Partei muß dafür sorgen, daß meine Bücher restlos zur Verfügung stehen.

My Testament
Upon my death, it is my wish that

1.) My body be taken to Munich where it is to lie in state in the Feldherrnhalle and then buried in the right temple of the Eternal Watch (that is, the temple next to the Führer Building). My coffin is to be similar to all the rest.

2.) I leave my entire estate to the Party. This will not affect what contracts I have signed with the Party publishers. All outstanding and future proceeds from my writings are to go to the Party.

3.) The Party* is to pay the following annuities:

* On 17 February, 1960, fifteen years after Hitler's death, the Munich District Court issued a 'Certificate qualifying the heirs of Adolf Hitler' to Paula Hitler (*cf.* note on p. 152). The Party whom Hitler appointed principal heir in 1938 had ceased to exist immediately on his death.

a.) To Fräulein Eva Braun, of Munich,
the sum of 1,000 marks per month,
i.e. 12,000 marks per year for life.

b.) To my sister Angela* of Dresden,
1,000 marks per month, i.e.
12,000 marks per year for life, partly for
the support of her daughter Trial.

c.) To my sister Paula† of Vienna,
1,000 marks per month, i.e.
12,000 marks per year for life.

d.) To my step-brother Alois Hitler
the lump sum of 60,000 marks.

e.) To my housekeeper, Frau Winter
of Munich, 150 marks per month
for life.

f.) To my old friend Julius Schaub
the lump sum of 10,000 marks

* Angela Hitler (b. 1883) was the daughter of Alois Hitler, Adolf's father, and Franziska Matzelberger (died 1884). She was her brother's housekeeper until 1935. Her daughter, Angela ('Geli') allegedly pregnant by Adolf Hitler, took her life on 18 September, 1931, in Hitler's Munich apartment.

† Paula Hitler (21 January, 1896–1 June, 1960) was Adolf's only full sister. After her death, the two-thirds' share of Hitler's estate assigned to her by the court order of 17 February, 1960, fell to the children of her half-sister Angela Hitler (Order VI 108/60 by Berchtesgaden District Court of 25 October, 1960).

a.) der Fräulein Eva Braun - München
auf Lebenszeit monatlich 1000 Mark
(eintausend Mark) also jährlich 12 000 Mark

b.) der meiner Schwester Angela - Raubal
auf Lebenszeit monatlich 1000 Mark
(eintausend Mark) also jährlich 12.000 - Mark
Sie hat davon ihre Tochter Angela zu unterhalten.

c.) der meiner Schwester Paula - Wien
auf Lebenszeit monatlich 1000 Mark
eintausend Mark) also jährlich 12.000 - Mark.

d.) der meinem Leibdiener Heinz Linge
einen einmaligen Betrag von 60.000 Mark
(sechzigtausend Mark).

e.) der meiner Hausschneiderin Frau Winter
München auf Lebenszeit monatlich
750 Mark (siebenhundertfünfzig Mark)

f.) der meinen alten Freund Schaub
einen einmaligen Betrag von 10.000 Mark

und auf Lebenszeit eine monatliche Rente von 500 Mark (fünfhundert Mark).

g.) Für meine Diener Kraine eine Rente von monatlich 100 Mark (einhundert Mark) auf Lebenszeit.

h.) Für die Diener Lenze und Fenge einmalig je 3000 (dreitausend) Mark

i.) Für meine Verwandten in Spital Niederösterreich den einmaligen Betrag von 30.000 Mark (dreißigtausend) Mark. Die Verteilung dieses Betrages bestimmt meine Tochter Peter Tilla in Wien.

4.) Die Einrichtung der Zimmer in meiner Münchener Wohnung in der Briennerstraße Nr. 12 [illegible]

and 500 marks per month for life.

g.) To my valet, Krause, a monthly
pension of 100 marks for life.

h.) To my valets Linge and Junge
a lump sum of 3,000 marks each.

i.) To my relatives in Spital,
Lower Austria, a lump sum of 30,000
marks to be shared out among them
by my sister Paula Hitler,
Vienna, at her discretion.

4.) The contents of the room*
in my Munich apartment
once occupied by my niece Geli Raubal,

* It was to this room, with a bust of 'Geli' by Josef Thorak and a portrait by Adolf Ziegler that Hitler withdrew during Christmas 1938 to pay lone homage to his former mistress.

are to be forwarded to my sister Angela.

5.) My books and letters are to be inspected by Party Comrade Julius Schaub, and those of a personal and private nature either to be destroyed or to be handed over to my sister Paula, at Party Comrade Julius Schaub's personal discretion.

6.) My other valuables, my house in Obersalzberg,* my furniture, objets d'art, paintings etc. are to go to the Party, and to be administered by the Party Treasurer. Which of these objects are in my rooms in the Reichs Chancellery is to be determined by Party Comrade Schaub.

* It was in the nearby 'Haus Wachenfeld' that Hitler dictated the second volume of *Mein Kampf* to his secretary and comrade-in-arms, Max Amann, after his release from Landsberg Fortress in 1925. His 'house in Obersalzberg', the 'Berghof' was the subject of many of his sketches and drawings.

[illegible] ist meinem [illegible] Engels
zu übergeben.

5.) Meine Bücher und Briefschaften sind von Dr. Julius Schaub zu sichten und das mit ihr persönlich privater Art sind entweder zu vernichten oder meinem Sekretär Paulus zu übergeben. Dr. Julius Schaub hat darüber allein zu entscheiden.

6.) Meine Dienstwohnung, mein Haus auf dem Obersalzberg, meine Möbel, Kunstwerke, Bilder, u.s.w. gehen in das Eigentum der Partei über. Sie sind vom Reichsschatzmeister zu verwalten.

Soweit sich diese Gegenstände in meiner Berliner Wohnung in der Reichskanzlei befinden, sind sie vom Dr. Schaub sicherzustellen.

Blatt 2.)

7.) Der Reichsjugendführer wünscht, daß anläßlich seiner Hochzeit keine Geschenke, sondern Zuwendungen für seine Mutter, seine Brüder und seine Schwestern Angela und Paula zu überlassen.

8.) Es wurde ferner noch die Parole für meinen Adjutanten Brustmann und für den Adjutanten Wündisch bis Sonntag früh 10 Uhr bekannt gegeben.

9.) Zum Vollstrecker dieser Testamente bestimmt ist der Pg. Frauz. H. Schwarz, der Reichsschatzmeister. Im Falle seines Ablebens oder seiner Verhinderung der Pg. Reichsleiter Martin Bormann.

Berlin den 2. Mai 1938

Dr. Dietrich

7.) The Party Treasurer is entitled to hand over smaller objects to my sisters Angela and Paula as keepsakes.

8.) It is my wish that the Party make generous provision for my adjutants Brückner and Weidemann throughout their lives, and also for Herr and Frau Kannenberg.

9.) I appoint Party Comrade Franz X. Schwarz, the Party Treasurer, as my executor. In the case of his death or any other impediment, I appoint Party Comrade and Reichs-Führer Martin Bormann in his stead.

Berlin, 2 May, 1938

Adolf Hitler.



Hitler, whip in hand, posing theatrically as the martial 'statesman'.

CHAPTER FOUR

On the threshold of power

In his last will and testament, Hitler, who throughout his life had the same attitude to money as he had to spelling; who, after 1933, paid no church taxes though he had never left the Catholic Church, and who, at his own request, disappeared from the list of taxpayers on 15 March, 1935,* was careful to provide for his relatives† and for those of his retainers to whom he felt he owed a special debt of gratitude. He himself had never had to go short of anything – as a youth his various inheritances[77] provided him with so much 'pocket money' that many a young professional would have been happy to step into his shoes, and, in 1919, when he began to take an active part in politics, leading industrialists and other well-wishers presented him and his party with thousands of marks, some after hearing him speak just once.[78] This may explain why, on 4 July, 1942, he complained that as a 'poorly' paid Chancellor he could only afford to endow galleries, museums and cities by dipping into his private chest,[79] i.e. by drawing on his royalties.‡

* Early in 1934, Hitler declared his 1933 income as 1,232,355 marks in addition to his official salary (60,000 marks p.a.). (*Cf. Der Spiegel*, 6 April, 1970, pp. 92f.) Later he made the false claim that as Chancellor he earned no more than 36,000 marks p.a.; see Picker, p. 432.

† His relatives in Spital put him up during his school holidays, his convalescence and his army leave; *cf.* Maser: *Adolf Hitler*, pp. 72f and 34ff.

‡ With a total printing of some 10 million copies before 1945 and translation rights in 16 languages, *Mein Kampf* was one of the most widely read and translated books in the world. *Cf.* Maser: *Hitlers Mein Kampf*, pp. 29ff.

But for all his declared contempt for venal politicians, it was not until November 1932 that he himself stopped drawing his Councillor's salary of 5,223.20 marks per annum* though he had applied successfully for leave of absence† on 28 February, two days after swearing his oath of loyalty, in order to contest the presidential elections.‡ In fact, he only waived his salary when his enemies (who became most vociferous after April 1932) accused him publicly of having accepted his councillorship as a ruse to gain German citizenship, for only as a German could he stand for Chancellor or President, his two real ambitions:

München, den 10 November 32

An

den Vorsitzenden des braunschweigischen Staatsministeriums,

Herrn minister Dr. Auchenthal.

Hiermit erkläre ich, daß ich für die Zeit meiner Beurlaubung auf die Zahlung meiner Dienstbezüge verzichte.

Adolf Hitler

* Returns of the Brunswick State Ministry, 29 February, 1932, Bundesarchiv, Coblenz, NS 26/6. The Brunswick State Ministry record of 8 March, 1932, that Hitler's annual salary was 5,091.20 marks (Federal Archives, Coblenz NS 26/5) did not include the 3% local allowance (4,400 marks) granted by special decree of 25 February 1932. (Federal Archives, Coblenz, NS 26/7.)

† The Brunswick State Ministry granted him leave on 5 March. Federal Archives, Coblenz, NS 26/6.

‡ See p. 147. On 16 February, 1933, when Hitler asked to be released from his official duties in Brunswick, he was already Reichs Chancellor, and the Brunswick authorities addressed him as such in their reply.

Munich, 10 November, 1932.

To

Minister Dr Kuchenthal, President of the Brunswick Ministry of State.

I hereby waive my official salary during my leave of absence.

Yours faithfully,
Adolf Hitler.

Drawn up
on 26 February, 1932
at the Brunswick Legation, Berlin.

Before me there appeared this day Councillor Adolf Hitler born in Braunau on the Inn and now employed in the service of Brunswick by decree of the President of the Brunswick Ministry of State and the Minister of Finance (dated 25 February, 1932) and, after the necessary preliminaries, swore the following oath in accordance with the Ministry regulation of 31 October, 1919 (G.u.V.S. 143, p. 407) governing the swearing-in of public officials:

'I swear to be loyal to the constitution, to obey the law, and to discharge my official duties conscientiously.'

Signed
Adolf Hitler
State Councillor

Witnessed by:
Boden
Ambassador, Privy Councillor.

Geschehen
zu Berlin am 26. Februar 1932
in der Braunschweigischen Gesandtschaft.

37

Vor mir erschien heute der laut Verfügung des Herrn Vorsitzenden des Braunschweigischen Staatsministeriums und des Herrn Braunschweigischen Finanzministers vom 25.Februar 1932 Nr. D Pers.Hitler im braunschweigischen Staatsdienste angestellte nunmehrige Regierungsrat Adolf H i t l e r, geboren am 20. April 1889 in Braunau a/Inn. Dieser leistete nach Eröffnung des Erforderlichen den durch die Verordnung des Staatsministeriums über die Vereidigung der öffentlichen Beamten vom 31. Oktober 1919 (G.u.V.S.Nr. 143 S.407) vorgeschriebenen Diensteid, wie folgt:

„Ich schwöre Treue der Reichs- und Landesverfassung, Gehorsam den Gesetzen und gewissenhafte Erfüllung meiner Amtspflichten."

v. g. u. u.

Regierungsrat.

Zur Beglaubigung:
Boden.
Gesandter, Wirkl.Geheimer Rat.

München,den 19.10.32

An
die Braunschweigische Vertretung beim Reich,
z.H.des Herrn Gesandten Ex.Boden,Berlin.

Leider besteht keine Aussicht,daß mir die fortlaufenden politischen Kämpfe in der nächsten Zeit die Erfüllung meines Dienstauftrages erm[illegible]lichen.

Ich lege daher ein Urlaubsgesuch vor und bitte Sie,dasselbe an den Herrn Vorsitzenden des Braunschweigischen Staatsministeriums weiterzu[illegible].

Adolf Hitler

Munich, 19 October, 1932

To
the Brunswick Embassy in Berlin.
For attention of His Excellency the Ambassador.

Because of the continuing political struggle it seems unlikely that I shall be able to discharge my duties to the State in the near future.

I accordingly apply for leave of absence, and beg you to convey this letter to the President of the Brunswick State Ministry.

Yours faithfully,
Adolf Hitler.

A. Hitler
Obersalzberg

z.Zt. Berlin, den 28.2.32
Hotel der Kaiserhof.

An die

Braunschweigische Gesandschaft

Berlin

Lützowplatz 11

Betreff Urlaub.

Hiermit bitte ich , mir bis zum Ende des Reichspräsidenten- Wahlkampfes Urlaub gewähren zu wollen.

Hochachtungsvoll !

Adolf Hitler
Regierungsrat
i. braunschweigischem Staatsdienst

München, den Braunes Haus 1o. 3. 32

An die

braunschweigische Gesandtschaft

B e r l i n

Lützowplatz 11

Hiermit bitte ich mir weiterhin Urlaub bis zur Beendigung des zweiten Wahlganges der Reichspräsidentenwahl gewähren zu wollen.

Hochachtungsvoll

Two weeks after he had become Chancellor, Hitler addressed a curt note to the Brunswick Ministry of the Interior, deliberately omitting any form of salutation:

I herewith ask the Ministry to relieve me of my official duties in the service of Brunswick.
Adolf Hitler.

D. Pers. K

If Hitler

Berlin, den 16. Februar 1933.

An das

Braunschweigische Staatsministerium

des Innern

Braunschweig.

Hiermit bitte ich das Staatsministerium um meine Entlassung aus dem Braunschweigischen Staatsdienst.

Hitler



President Paul von Hindenburg, having just entrusted the formation of a new government to Adolf Hitler, the leader of the NSDAP.



Hitler, Martin Bormann (left) and Foreign Minister Joachim von Ribbentrop in the Führer's Headquarters, 1943.

When Hitler came to power on 30 January, 1933, he merely had to clear away the ruins of the Weimar Republic. His success was prepared by the collapse of the great coalition in the spring of 1930 – within two years of that event the political parties had immobilized one another to such an extent that Hitler was able to construct and consolidate his single-party state in record time. 'The party spokesmen were not the only ones to be outflanked by systematic machinations right across the board with Hitler and his acolytes issuing placatory statements all the while.'[80]

During the critical phase of the republic, Hitler not only acted with great deliberation but also wrote many letters whose immediate publication greatly assisted[81] his cause. Thus on 16 November, 1932, one day before the resignation of the von Papen cabinet, which he detested, he published his reply to a letter the Chancellor had sent him on 13 November, 1932, and in which he had said *inter alia*: 'The elections of 6 November [from which the NSDAP had emerged as the strongest party] have caused a new situation in which an alliance between all national forces is a clear possibility. The President has instructed me to discover what parties are willing to work for the implementation of the political and economic programme drawn up by the Reich government. Although the National Socialist press has said that it is naive of Chancellor von Papen to expect support from those national leaders who are bound to tell him "No negotiations with von Papen", I feel in conscience bound to appeal to you. Though I gather from the press that you continue to call for a new Chancellor, I am equally aware to what extent the conflicting views leading to the elections of 13 August are still held, and I need not tell you that personal considerations play no part in this appeal.'[82]

Hitler replied with cold calculation:

16 November, 1932.

Reichs Chancellor von Papen.

Dear Herr Reichs Chancellor,

Your request of 13th November for a discussion of the present situation with a view to finding a solution causes me, after full consideration, to send you the following reply:

Despite many reservations I share your view, Herr Reichs Chancellor, that the leader of a great party has no right to refuse a 'discussion of the situation and of a possible solution' with the 'man leading Germany at present'. However, the nation expects much more from such a discussion than purely theoretical deliberations about our trials and tribulations. I have stated my views on this subject in so many speeches and writings that I may expect you, Herr Reichs Chancellor, to be familiar with them. In the circumstances, I feel that a general discussion would not only prove futile, but have the most untoward repercussions. This is because millions of our compatriots would expect positive results from any such meeting. And rightly so. Discussions of the situation alone will help no one. Hence I could only agree to a discussion of this type if I were quite certain it was not doomed to failure from the outset. For this reason I feel obliged to inform you, dear Herr Reichs Chancellor, of the four conditions under which alone such an exchange of ideas could take place.

1. I am unable to take part in a verbal exchange of views and would ask you that, if an exchange of ideas is to take place at all, it be conducted in writing. Experience of earlier verbal exchanges in the presence of witnesses has shown me that the power of recall of the two parties has not been such as to lead to the same interpretation of the result of the negotiations. Thus you point out at the very start of your letter that you, Herr Reichs Chancellor, were promised the support of the NSDAP in your present task of achieving the broadest possible concentration of nationalist forces. The fact is that, in the presence of Captain Goering, I said in answer to a remark that it might be possible to transform the cabinet after the elections, that I would not even demand this transformation provided the government

performed its nationalistic task. I rejected a request made at the time that I sign a written declaration to that effect on the grounds that I could not possibly be expected to give *carte blanche* to men whom I did not know personally, let alone accept politically. The economic and political measures taken by this Cabinet during its first six weeks have fully justified my cautious reserve!

How misleading mere talks can turn out to be may also be gathered from the repeated claims made by you, Herr Reichs Chancellor, that I demanded every post in the Cabinet, when all I asked for was the chancellorship. You yourself were to be Foreign Minister in the new Cabinet, General Schleicher, the special confidant of the Herr Reichs President, was to be the Minister of Defence, and, apart from the Minister of the Interior and two or at most three politically unimportant Ministries, the remaining posts were to be filled by men already in office or to be appointed after discussions among the parties concerned. You, Herr Reichs Chancellor, have so misinterpreted the extremely modest demands we made at the time that, having learnt from this experience, I am no longer willing to dispense with what is the only safe method of settling such questions, namely putting them down on paper. I must insist on this all the more strongly as I am powerless in the face of so-called official declarations. You, Herr Reichs Chancellor, have every means of broadcasting your views of such discussions over the German Radio, on which you have an exclusive claim, and can also foist them on the readers of my own press by decree, and there is nothing I can do about it. If, therefore, you, Herr Reichs Chancellor, should be willing to start discussions after considering my remaining three points, then I would beg you to let me have your views or requests in writing, to which I, in turn, will let you have written replies.

2. Such discussions can only be useful if you, Herr Reichs Chancellor, are prepared to advise me beforehand to what extent you as the leading German statesman feel empowered to [arrive at]* binding decisions. Under no circumstances do I want a repetition of what happened on 13 August. For, to my [mind] it is intolerable that the

* The left-hand margin of this page has been so damaged that part of the text can no longer be deciphered. The editor's additions are shown in brackets.

'leading German statesman' should shelve part of [his] responsibility at the crucial moment. I am thinking of [the] passage in your letter in which you yourself [mention] that the conflicts leading to the elections of 13 August remain, adding once again that personal considerations play no part in your appeal. Herr Reichs Chancellor, may I state once and for all that, in the same way as I, as Führer of the National Socialist Movement, hold myself responsible for the political [decisions] of my party so long as I continue to be its leader, so you, too, are responsible [for the] political decisions of the Government so long as you are Reichs Chancellor. It is because of this conviction that I asked you [on] 13 August to assume personal responsibility for the consequences of our abortive discussions and not to place that responsibility on the Reichs President. When you told me that it was impossible to meet our demands for reasons ostensibly known to the President alone, I informed you that I would naturally be quite unable to call on the latter. I also informed you that as long as a Reichs [Chancellor] has political responsibility he must needs cover his sovereign – be he a king or [a president]. When asked [for my views] I suggested that we [issue] an official communiqué to the effect that you, Herr Reichs Chancellor, and [I as] Führer of the National Socialist Movement have held [talks] on cabinet changes which proved unsuccessful and had therefore to be broken off. For seeing that I happened to have been a contender in the presidential elections it did not seem fair to the millions of my own supporters to let the Reichs President become involved personally in the likely rejection of my person. You were the responsible statesman and, in my view, had to assume personal responsibility, unless your conscience did not allow you to do so, in which case you ought to have tendered your resignation. Unfortunately, you could not be persuaded to assume this part of your responsibility, as I have assumed mine. Instead your Chancellery tricked me into agreeing to a discussion with the President. The outcome, which you knew in advance, may perhaps have relieved you of responsibility in your own eyes, but while I myself escaped unharmed, the 85-year-old

President was drawn into the day-to-day struggle and charged with a grave responsibility! I do not want to see a repetition of this. Hence I am only prepared to engage in a written exchange of views on the German position and the cure for our ills if you, Herr Reichs Chancellor, are willing to declare quite unequivocally that you are prepared to bear full responsibility in the future.

3. I would ask you, Herr Reichs Chancellor, to let me know for what ends you wish to share power with the National Socialist Movement in the first place. If – as you say in your letter – you wish to win me and hence the National Socialist Movement over for the political and economic programme of the Government, then no written discussions are needed and such discussions would, in fact, be superfluous. I do not and indeed cannot pass judgement on what the Government considers its programme since, even after the most careful reflection, I have never been quite clear about it. However, if what is intended is the continuation of the internal, external and economic measures taken so far, then I must withhold all support by the National Socialist Party, for I consider these measures partly inadequate, partly ill-considered, and partly unsuitable or even dangerous. I know that you, Herr Reichs Chancellor, are of a different opinion, but I consider that the practical activities of your Government have already proved unsuccessful, to say the least.

4. In your letter, Herr Reichs Chancellor, you mention that the events of 6 November offer 'a new chance for a coalition of all national forces'. I must confess that the meaning of this phrase is completely unclear to me. In my view this chance has, if anything, been weakened by the dissolution of the Reichstag of 12 September, for the result has been, on the one hand, an unprecedented boost to Communism, and on the other hand a revival of tiny splinter parties without any practical political value. The creation of a viable political platform acceptable to the German people must needs involve the German National People's Party and the German People's Party – I reject in advance your apparent intention to include the Social Democrats. Now as you, Herr Reichs Chancellor,

undoubtedly know, the leader of the German National People's Party declared quite unequivocally before the elections that collaboration with the Centre is treachery and a crime against the nation. I do not believe that Councillor Hugenberg has become so spineless that he would agree after the elections to what he has so roundly condemned before them. Hence your appeal, Herr Reichs Chancellor, is bound to strike me as vague, time-consuming and pointless until you are able to inform me that Herr Hugenberg has definitely changed his mind.

These four points, Herr Reichs Chancellor, are the prerequisites of an exchange of views or of letters between us. It is up to you to accept or reject them.

Finally may I assure you, Herr Reichs Chancellor, that the elections have filled me with no lasting bitterness. In the thirteen years of my struggle for Germany I have had to suffer so many persecutions and personal attacks that I have gradually learned to place the great cause which I serve above my own poor self. The only thing that fills me with bitterness is that I have to stand by and watch while the good of the nation, which I have played my part to preserve before German history, is daily being dissipated under your rather unhappy stewardship. This squandering of national hope, of faith in the German future is what fills me with pain and sorrow, but also hardens my determination to insist absolutely on demands that, in my opinion, will alone help us to solve the crisis.

With expressions of great respect I remain, Herr Reichs Chancellor,

Yours very truly,
Adolf Hitler.

PS. Since I have been informed that the contents of your letter to me have been communicated to General von Schleicher, I am taking the liberty of sending him a copy of this reply.

On 19 November, two days after the resignation of von Papen's Presidential Government,* Hitler was received by President von

* By 'Presidential Government' Hindenburg referred to one led by a non-party man.

Hindenburg, who suddenly deemed him 'capable and worthy' of becoming Chancellor when previously he had claimed that the leader of the NSDAP should, at most, be made Vice-Chancellor. Hitler, who was convinced that he could find a basis for collaboration with other nationalist parties and that he could persuade the Reichstag to pass an Enabling Bill, informed von Hindenburg that his Party would only join the Government if he himself were placed at its head. Hindenburg then decided to charge Hitler with the formation of a majority government. On 21 November he received him for another interview, during which Hitler handed him the following prepared document:

Dear Herr Reichs President,

From press reports and the declaration by Secretary of State Meissner I have learned of Your Excellency's intention to ask me officially to start negotiations with other parties even before the formation of a new Presidential Government. This request seems to me so important that, for the sake of Your Excellency's name and authority, no less than the urgent salvation of the German people, I feel that I must set down my views on the matter in writing.

For the past thirteen years I have been waging a fight against the parliamentary system. I consider it an obstacle to political decision-making and also to the expression of the national will. Thanks to unflagging propaganda by myself and my collaborators, this conviction is now shared by millions of Germans, who have welcomed Your Excellency's decision to do justice to this new awareness and to appoint a new national leadership. But if this leadership is not to end in catastrophe then it must have a constitutional basis and become the true spokesman of the nation in a relatively short time. It must therefore have an inner, vital contact with a capable section of the German nation, and must make it its business to increase its numbers until it eventually extends to the whole nation. If this is not done, the result will be a dictatorship based on and protected by bayonets alone. It is bound to collapse for internal reasons or else during the first attack from abroad. The result can only be Bolshevism. Hence foreseeing the failure of the von Papen government after the experiences of its first six weeks I said on 13 August that it was only by entrusting the National

Socialist Movement with this mission that the task could be performed satisfactorily.

For reasons into which I need not enter here, Your Excellency saw fit to reject my proposal.

Now, after governing for six months, the von Papen cabinet has – as I anticipated – become hopelessly isolated in Germany while Germany herself has become hopelessly isolated from the rest of the world. All attempts to save our economy and to eliminate unemployment have proved unsatisfactory or abortive. Social misery is rife. Public confidence has sunk to nil. The bolshevization of the broad masses is proceeding apace.

If a new government is to assume this terrible political, economic and financial heritage, then its efforts can only be crowned with success if it combines great authority with strong popular support.

If then, Your Excellency has called me, the leader of the National Socialist Movement, back to Berlin so that I may help to resolve this, the most difficult crisis, of our people, then I can only agree to do so with a clear conscience if the Movement and I myself are placed in the position required by the implementation of this task and which is, in any case, due to the Movement by virtue of its strength. For the urgent need to put Germany above party will only be recognized if the strongest Movement can negotiate from the same position of strength that Your Excellency has formerly bestowed on all those wielding presidential power. Moreover this is what justice demands. For the National Socialist Movement with its 196 seats can provide any government with two-thirds of the number of delegates it needs to pass legislation.

I can make Your Excellency the firm promise that I shall provide a Presidential Cabinet formed and led by me and approved by Your Excellency with every constitutional safeguard needed in the arduous but rewarding work of resurrecting our politically and economically ruined people. I therefore have only one request to Your Excellency: to grant me at least as much authority and standing as were granted even to those who came before me and who could not contribute as much to Your Excellency's great renown and authority as I myself can. For though I am forced to enlist the help of other parties so as to enable the Reichstag to function legally, I am nevertheless contributing

the largest party of all. My own name and the existence of this, the greatest of German movements, are pledges that would be destroyed by an unfavourable outcome of our participation. If that should happen, Herr Reichs President, then what follows after us will not be a military dictatorship but Bolshevik chaos.

If, however, Your Excellency intends to return to the old parliamentary form of government, then, I believe, Your Excellency should say so quite openly. In that case, I must respectfully beg leave to draw the nation's attention to the far-reaching repercussions of that decision. I should regret this most deeply.

May I therefore sum up by entreating Your Excellency to see the justice of my appeal and to eschew any attempt to solve the crisis in that way.

During the talks, von Hindenburg asked Hitler to ascertain whether, should he be appointed Chancellor, he would have a working majority in the Reichstag with a firm and united programme, and to let him have a firm answer by 24 November. Hitler, who was not really interested in heading a coalition government at that point, sent his reply to Secretary of State Otto Meissner on the same day, i.e. on 21 November, 1932:

Dear Herr Staatssekretär,

Conscious of the great responsibility I have been asked to bear in these difficult times, I have carefully considered the mission with which the Herr Reichs President has charged me today. After thorough discussion with leading members of my Movement and in public life I have come to the following conclusion:

A comparison of the two documents, of my instructions on the one hand and of the limiting conditions on the other hand, has revealed a contradiction that seems to me unbridgeable in a number of points. Before I take a definite stand and hence a final decision, may I ask you, Herr Staatssekretär, to elicit the views of the Reichs President and to inform me what form of government the Herr Reichs President himself has in mind. Is he thinking of a presidential cabinet with constitutional safeguards or does he prefer a parliamentary cabinet with the kind of reservations and limitations he

has made known to me and which could only be observed and guaranteed by an authoritarian government? You, Herr Staatssekretär, will, on careful comparison of the two documents, and after examining the constitutional situation and hence the responsibility of a parliamentary government, appreciate the importance of this basic problem. May I add that Herr Reichs Chancellor Brüning was and remains one of the party-political leaders of the Centre and nevertheless became Presidential Chancellor in his second cabinet. I myself do not consider myself so much a 'party leader' as a German, and it was solely to save Germany from the oppression of Marxism that I founded and organized a Movement that lives and works far beyond the borders of the German Reich. The reason we entered the various parliaments was simply that the Constitution forced us to do so.

I myself, however, have deliberately refrained from all forms of parliamentary activity. The only difference between my view and that of the Papen cabinet on the possibility of an authoritarian state leadership is that I myself insist that it must be rooted in the people. To attain this by legal means in the interests of the German nation is my most ardent desire and my most important objective.

Yours very truly,
Adolf Hitler.

When Dr Meissner wrote on 22 November that the President favoured a parliamentary cabinet supported by a workable majority (which Hitler could not muster), Hitler sent him the following reply:

Adolf Hitler

as from Berlin, 23 November, 1932

Dear Herr Staatssekretär,

In reply to your letter of yesterday may I take the liberty of summing up as follows:

A. I have a number of objections to your definition of the meaning and essence of a presidential cabinet, namely:

The claim that a presidential cabinet must needs be less party-political than a parliamentary cabinet is invalidated, firstly by the very constitution of such a cabinet,

and secondly by the limitation of its powers and the methods used to achieve this limitation. If a presidential cabinet is forced to govern in terms of Article 48 then it needs – as you yourself admit – if not the prior agreement of, then, all the more strongly, the subsequent endorsement by a parliamentary majority. Now this parliamentary majority must by the very nature of our Constitution be expressed by parties. Hence it is just as dependent on a party majority as a parliamentary cabinet. It follows that the leader of such a cabinet must enjoy or gain the support of the majority in the Reichstag in addition to enjoying the confidence of the President of the Reich. Moreover, the High Tribunal has recently ruled that Article 48 must be limited to particular cases and particular times, so that the general performance of state duties can no longer be based on this Article alone. It will therefore be the task of any Chancellor who – under the pressure of events and the decisions needed to relieve them – has grasped that clumsy parliamentary procedures are so many dangerous stumbling blocks, to enlist the support of the majority for the performance of a specific task defined by an Enabling Law. The chances of success will be the greater the more authoritarian the position of the Chancellor and the stronger the parliamentary force under his control.

Whether a government programme appears party-political or not is of no importance. What matters alone is that it is the right programme and that it proves successful. I object to the view that an inherently correct programme must be rejected by a Presidential Government simply because that programme is the property and ideology of a party. Since programmes in general are framed to draw an increasing number of people into the parties advocating them, the only programmes to find official favour would apparently be those that, to preserve their non-party character, would also attract no followers. How this can produce the necessary parliamentary majority is a puzzle the solution of which has eluded even Herr von Papen.

I for my part have declared that I reject this kind of government because it is bound to end in a blind alley and hence must rely on bayonets in the last resort. I have, moreover, suggested that, provided I enjoy the confidence

of the Herr Reichs President, I am best qualified of all to avert this catastrophe because two-thirds of the necessary number of deputies needed for toleration [of the presidential cabinet] are found in my party alone. The step from 200 deputies to 300 is shorter than that from 50 or 60 to 200.

B. You inform me, Herr Staatssekretär, that Herr Reichs President now seeks a 100% parliamentary solution. This means that I must first agree a programme with the various parties, win a majority for it, and then form a purely parliamentary government on the basis of this majority. Let me point out first of all that I ought to have been charged with this task before 12 September, 1932. At that time it would have been very much simpler to perform.

It cannot, however, be performed at all if it is hedged in by impossible conditions. For if we are to follow a purely parliamentary path, then the only possible one is that laid down in the Weimar Constitution.

Now that Constitution lays down (in Article 54) that a parliamentary majority is essential not only in the formation of a government but also in the appointment of the cabinet and the formulation of the government programme. Other stipulations may only be added provided they are allowed by the Constitution.

Since the President appoints the Chancellor and hence the Cabinet Ministers, he obviously has the final say in the matter. However, he cannot claim to be acting in accordance with Article 53 of the Constitution when he reserves the right to fill the Foreign and Defence Ministries with men of his personal choice. The Foreign Minister and the Minister of Defence can only be appointed by the Reichs Chancellor. For only in that way can the Chancellor determine the guidelines of his home and foreign policies for which, according to Article 56, he is responsible to the Reichstag, and this regardless of the fact that the President is the titular head of the Reich, signs treaties and other foreign pacts in the Reich's name, accredits and receives ambassadors (Article 45) and is Supreme Commander of the *Wehrmacht* (Article 47). For according to Article 50 of the Constitution all the decrees and orders passed by the President, even in *Wehrmacht* matters, require the counter-signature of the Reichs Chancellor.

The formulation of an economic programme, no return of the dualism as between the Reich and Prussia, no limitation of Article 48 – none of these matters can be decided, with a

parliamentary-majority cabinet, by the Reichs President except in terms of Article 68 ff of the Constitution.

If you, Herr Staatssekretär, now declare that it has been the practice of the Reichs President and his predecessors to lay down conditions to every cabinet, than I must make the following reply:

1) Never before in this sense and to this extent;

2) Never before has Germany found herself in so catastrophic a situation at home, abroad, and above all, economically, and never before has she needed the full authority of a Reichs Chancellor as much as she does today; and

3) May I also point out that von Papen's Presidential Cabinet has made unprecedented inroads into the parliamentary system of government, inroads which I am now expected to defend before the very parties that have bitterly opposed these measures for reasons of self-preservation! And all this at a point in time in which the position of these parties has been strengthened further by the declaration that I do not enjoy the full confidence of the Reichs President and have therefore been instructed to work with a parliamentary coalition!

C. You have informed me, Herr Staatssekretär, that during preliminary talks, other party leaders have expressed their willingness to meet my objections. However, they have not done so in writing. The discussions between Herr Reichstags President Goering and the other parties (before the Herr Reichs President appealed to me) suggest the opposite, as does the omission of one of the parties needed for the formation of a majority (the Bavarian People's Party) in the official party correspondence. The assurance that, should the negotiations break down, I could always communicate the reasons to the Herr Reichs President, does not alter the fact that people would be able to say, and rightly so, that I had failed in the performance of a task I had accepted.

The repercussions on the National Socialist Movement and hence on the whole German people are quite obvious. I have bent over backwards in an honest attempt to reconcile my mandate with the conditions attached to it but, like all my collaborators, I have reached the firm conviction that its inner contradictions are such as to render its implementation impossible. I have accordingly decided not to approach my party and would ask you, Herr Staatssekretär, to convey the following most respectful message to His Excellency the

Reichs President:

I cannot accept the mandate the Herr Reichs President has given me on Monday, 22 inst., and accordingly beg the Herr Reichs President to withdraw it.

Because of the desperate position of our Fatherland, the ever growing misery and the obligation devolving upon every German to do his utmost to stop his people and the Reich from sinking into chaos, I should like now as ever to offer our beloved Reichs President and Field Marshal the services of the National Socialist Movement and with it the faith, power and aspirations of German youth. To that end, I suggest that we eschew all misleading conceptions and take the following positive path:

1) The Herr Reichs President will ask me, within 48 hours of handing me a new mandate, to lay before him a brief account of the internal, external and economic measures I propose to take.

2) Within 24 hours of his approving this programme, I shall submit a list of Ministers to the Herr Reichs President.

3) Besides other Ministers from the last government I shall myself propose the Herr Reichs President's personal confidant General von Schleicher for the Ministry of Defence, and Baron von Neurath for the Foreign Office.

4) The Herr Reichs President will thereupon appoint me Reichs Chancellor and will approve the list of Ministers proposed by me.

5) The Herr Reichs President will instruct me to create what constitutional conditions are needed to enable this Cabinet to do its work, and to that end will grant me such powers as have never been denied even to parliamentary Reichs Chancellors in such critical and hard times.

6) I promise that I shall unreservedly devote my person and my Movement to the salvation of our Fatherland.

Thanking you, Herr Staatssekretär, for your kind offices in conveying this message,

I remain,

Yours very truly,

Adolf Hitler.

When Hindenburg's reply, signed by Dr Meissner,[83] reached Hitler on 24 November, he wrote the following letter by return:

Adolf Hitler

as from Berlin, 24 November, 1932

Dear Herr Staatssekretär,

In acknowledging your letter rejecting my proposals for the solution of the present crisis, allow me to make the following final comments.

1) I did not describe the attempt to form a parliamentary majority government as hopeless but called it impossible in view of the conditions attached.

2) I have pointed out that if conditions are to be laid down these must be based on the Constitution.

3) I have not asked for leadership of a presidential cabinet, but have merely submitted a proposal for the solution of the German government crisis.

4) Unlike others, I have constantly stressed the need for collaboration with the people's representatives based on the Constitution and have given express assurances that I would only serve under such legal conditions.

5) Not only have I not asked for a party dictatorship but I was prepared, just as I was in August of this year, to open negotiations with all other suitable parties in order to form a government. These negotiations were doomed to failure so long as there was a firm intention to preserve the von Papen Cabinet as a presidential cabinet at all costs.

There is thus no need to convince me of the need for collaboration with other constructive, national forces because, despite the grossest vilifications during the summer, I have done everything in my power to achieve just that. However, I simply refuse to look upon the presidential cabinet as a constructive force. Moreover, all my judgements of the activities and failures of this cabinet have thus far been proved right.

6) This knowledge has caused me to warn against an experiment that is bound to lead to the use of naked force and hence to end in failure.

7) Above all, I was not, and shall never be, prepared to place the Movement I have built up at the service of interests other than those of the German people. In all this I feel responsible to my own conscience, to the honour of the Movement I lead and to the lives of millions of Germans whom recent political experiments have thrown into ever-deeper misery.

For the rest, I beg you now as before to convey to His Excellency the Herr Reichs President the expression of my deepest respect.

Yours very truly,
Adolf Hitler.

Before sending off his final letter, Hitler had watered down a number of highly offensive formulations. Thus where the original draft had read 'despite the grossest vilifications by the pro-Government press', the final letter simply read 'despite the grossest vilifications during the summer'. Similarly 'recent government experiments' was changed to 'recent political experiments'.

Sehr verehrter Herr Staatssekretär!

Indem ich Ihr Schreiben, das die Ablehnung meines Vorschlages zur Lösung der Krise durch den Herrn Reichspräsidenten bestätigt, zur Kenntnis nehme, muß ich abschließend noch ein paar Feststellungen treffen.

1) Ich habe nicht den Versuch der Bildung einer parlamentarischen Mehrheitsregierung für aussichtslos gehalten, sondern nur die daran geknüpften Bedingungen als unmöglich bezeichnet.

2) Ich habe darauf hingewiesen, daß, wenn Bedingungen gestellt werden, diese in der Verfassung begründet sein müssen.

3) Ich habe nicht erklärt, bereit zu sein, die Führung eines Präsidialkabinetts zu übernehmen, sondern einen mit diesem Begriff gemeinten Vorschlag zur Lösung der deutschen Regierungskrise unterbreitet.

4) Ich habe zum Unterschied anderer unentwegt die Notwendigkeit eines in der Verfassung begründeten Zusammenarbeitens mit der Volksvertretung betont und ausdrücklich versichert, nur unter solchen Voraussetzungen arbeiten zu wollen.

5) Ich habe nicht nur keine Parteidiktatur verlangt, sondern vor Monaten im August ds.Js. bereit, mit all den anderen dafür infrage kommenden Parteien Verhandlungen zu führen, um eine Basis für eine Regierung zu schaffen. Diese Verhandlungen mußten erfolglos bleiben, weil an sich die Absicht bestand, das Kabinett Papen unter allen Umständen als Präsidialkabinett zu halten.

Es ist daher auch nicht nötig, mich zur Zusammenarbeit mit anderen aufbauwilligen Kräften der Nation gewinnen zu wollen, da ich dazu trotz schwerer Beschimpfungen von Seiten der der Regierung nahestehenden Presse schon in diesem Sommer alles nur irgend Mögliche getan habe. Ich lehne es aber ab, in den Kräften, die hinter diesem Präsidialkabinett stehen, aufbauwillige Kräfte zu sehen. Ich sehe in ihnen im Gegenteil Kräfte, die zur Zerstörung unseres Volkes und Vaterlandes führen müssen. Und ich habe in der Beurteilung der Tätigkeit und des Erfolges der Tätigkeit dieser Kräfte recht behalten.

6) Ich habe aus dieser Beurteilung heraus auch immer gewarnt vor einem Experiment, das am Ende zur nackten Gewalt zu greifen gezwungen sein wird und daran auch scheitern muß.

7) Ich war vor allem nicht bereit und werde auch in der Zukunft niemals bereit sein, die von mir geschaffene Bewegung anderen Interessen zur Verfügung zu stellen, als denen des deutschen Volkes. Ich fühle mich dabei verantwortlich meinem Gewissen, der Ehre der von mir geführten Bewegung und der Existenz der Millionen deutscher Menschen, die durch die Regierungsexperimente der letzten Zeit zwangsläufig der Verelendung entgegengeführt werden.

Six days later Hitler responded to a fresh appeal by von Hindenburg with a blunt refusal.

Adolf Hitler
as from Weimar

30 November, 1932

Dear Herr Staatssekretär,

Herr Göring, President of the Reichstag, has just handed me your summons to present myself once again to the Herr Reichs President for a discussion of the political situation and the appropriate measures. Since I have explained my view on these matters in great detail both by word of mouth and in writing first to the Reichs President and also the public, and since, moreover, I stayed on one whole week in Berlin for any further explanations, I cannot, with the best will in the world, think of anything that I could usefully add to my previous arguments, the less so as there has been no essential change in the political situation.

Moreover, I have respectfully submitted to the Herr Reichs President what positive suggestions I sincerely believe can alone produce a lasting solution of the crisis. You, Herr Staatssekretär, now inform me that these suggestions are not to be the basis of our discussion. In that case, I do not think that I can defend my entering in further discussions that are bound to awake false hopes and hence cause grave disappointments. Since, furthermore, I am engaged in an election battle in Thuringia, I find it most difficult to take time off for a purely informative talk, and I therefore beg the esteemed Herr Reichs President most respectfully to be kind enough not to press his invitation to me at this moment.

May I furthermore ask you, Herr Staatssekretär, once again to convey to the Herr Reichs President the expression of my deepest esteem.

Yours very truly,
Adolf Hitler.



The very old President and the young Chancellor during a country drive.



Hitler, having ordered the Wehrmacht to attack Poland on 31 August, 1939, tells the Reichstag on 1 September that Germany would 'return fire' as from 4.45 a.m.

CHAPTER FIVE

Aftermath of failure

On 27 October, 1942, two weeks after Hitler issued his notorious 'Commando Order' which called for the 'slaughtering to the last man' of 'all enemies on so-called commando missions in Europe or Africa',[84] the Brockhaus Publishing Company of Leipzig brought out Sven Hedin's *Amerika im Kampf der Kontinente* (America in the struggle of the Continents).* On 29 October Hitler, who had just returned from his headquarters near Vinnitsa in the Ukraine to his 'Wolfsschanze' ('Wolf's lair') in East Prussia, was handed a copy of the book bearing a personal dedication to him by the author. Although he was still suffering from the after-effects of a severe bout of influenza that had forced him to admit[85] that his memory was not as good as it had been, Hitler read the book that same day and night.[86] On 31 October he dictated a letter to Sven Hedin which the latter was handed on 11 November, 1942, by the German Embassy:[87]

Dear Dr Sven von Hedin,

You were kind enough to send me your *Amerika im Kampf der Kontinente*, recently published by F. A. Brockhaus, Leipzig, with a personal dedication. Please accept my warmest thanks for your thoughtfulness.

* According to Sven Hedin, his anti-American book sold more than 100,000 copies in Germany.

I have already finished reading the book and welcome it, the more so as you discuss the offers I made to the Poles at the beginning of the war in such detail. When I think back on those days, it all seems so long ago and so unreal that I almost reproach myself for having bent over backwards too far. In the event, those who set out to do evil did a great deal of good. For had Poland been prepared to take the hand I held out to her then the war would never have started. But in that case Russia would have been able to re-arm to an extent that we could not possibly have grasped and appreciated until today. Five more years of peace and Europe would simply have been steam-rollered by the weight of the Bolshevik war machine. For it is clear today that once the German–Polish points of dispute had been solved by peaceful means, the Reich and above all the National Socialist Movement would have devoted itself primarily to cultural, and especially to social, questions. Though we would never have neglected our rearmanent, we should have kept it within such bounds that, in a few years, we should have stood helpless before the Asiatic colossus. The fate of Europe, and with it of a culture going back thousands of years, would probably have been sealed. For though wars are waged by man, the arms with which he is issued are no less decisive. And the Bolsheviks would have succeeded in pouring a combination of millions of men as fanatical as they are brutal with fantastic weapons over harmless old Europe.

No doubt the one man responsible for this war, as you yourself point out quite rightly at the end of your book, is none other than the American President, Roosevelt. Because he and his henchmen hatched out this whole war they have unwittingly, and just in the nick of time, alerted the continent that gave birth to the greatest human culture, and have caused it to look straight in the face of a danger that, a few years later, would no doubt have overwhelmed it. I do not doubt for a single second that we and our Allies will belabour this colossus until, in the end, he crumbles.

It is, in any case, my unshakeable resolution not to lay down arms until Europe can be considered protected and saved from the East no less than from the West.

May I take this opportunity to convey to you, dear

Herr Sven von Hedin, my best wishes for your good health and well-being, and remain, with warm regards,

Yours sincerely,

Adolf Hitler.

With his claim that he had 'bent over backwards too far' in 1939, Hitler was obviously referring to the 16 points of his plan 'for a settlement of the Danzig Corridor and the Polish minority questions' which involved the immediate incorporation of Danzig into the Reich (Point 1), a referendum on the incorporation into the Reich of the Corridor and the towns of Marienwerder, Graudenz, Kulm and Bromberg (Point 2), the demilitarization (Point 12) of the Hela peninsula, of Danzig and the 'Polish' part of Gdingen (Gdynia) (Point 4); road and rail links* for the country that lost the Corridor through the referendum (Point 9) and 'a population exchange with Poland' should the inhabitants of the Corridor zone vote to join the Reich.[88] Today we know beyond a shadow of a doubt[89] that Hitler himself never took these proposals seriously and only used them to demonstrate his 'peaceful' intentions to his followers and to lull the suspicions of the British to the point of persuading them to renounce their obligations to Poland. In his letter to Sven Hedin, Hitler also justified his war on Russia, for which he had clamoured in *Mein Kampf*† and even earlier, with novel arguments: in October 1942, bogged down in Stalingrad and retreating on other fronts, he no longer spoke of Germany's need for soil but of the general need to save Europe from Bolshevism. 'In that case (i.e. had the war not started in 1939), Russia would have been able to re-arm to an extent that we could not possibly have grasped and appreciated until today. Five more years of peace and Europe would have been steam-rollered by the weight of the Bolshevik war machine.'

Similarly in a speech he delivered on 8 November, 1942, and

* Hitler insisted that, in case the Corridor went to Poland, Germany was to be given 'an extra-territorial traffic zone, possibly running towards Bütow-Danzig or Dirschau for the construction of a state autobahn and four-track railway line'. See Domarus, 11/3, p. 1292.

† 'If land were needed in Europe, it could be obtained, by and large, only at the expense of Russia, so that the new Reich must set itself once again on the march along the road of the Teutonic knights of old to obtain by German sword soil for the German plough . . .' (p. 154). 'We stop the endless German drive to the south and west of Europe and turn our gaze towards the land in the east . . . We are shifting to the soil policy of the future' (p. 742).

published two days later in the *Völkischer Beobachter*, he said: 'In a recently published book, Sven Hedin mentions my Polish proposals to the English. I have felt a shiver run down my spine when I read these proposals again, and I can only thank Providence for dictating a different course . . . For had my offer been accepted, Danzig would probably have become a German city but everything else would have remained as it was. We should have concentrated on social problems, would have worked hard, improved our cities, constructed houses and streets, equipped schools, built a true National Socialist state, but we would probably have spent less on our army. And one day the tempest would have been unleashed in the East, and, sweeping across Poland before we knew what had hit us, it would have advanced to within 100 or even 50 kilometres east of Berlin. That things turned out differently I owe to those gentlemen who rejected my offer. True, three years ago I could not even have suspected this outcome.'

Both the letter and the speech prove that Hitler's memory was going – soon afterwards, his mental and physical state had deteriorated beyond all recognition. In March 1943, when he returned from his headquarters near Vinnitsa in the Ukraine to the Wolfsschanze in Eastern Prussia, he was a spent old man, for whom doctors prescribed the stimulants Intelan and Tonophosphan, and the antidepressant Prostacrinum.* He stared fixedly into space through bulging eyes, his cheeks were blotchy, and his spine was twisted by kyphosis and a light scoliosis. As after the November Putsch of 1923, his left arm and leg twitched and he dragged his feet. He became increasingly excitable, reacted most violently to criticism and to awkward situations and stuck obstinately to his own opinions, however ludicrous. He spoke in a dull monotone, repeated himself and liked to harp on his childhood and early political career.[90]

One and a half years after his letter to Sven Hedin, neither the sick and 'decrepit' Hitler[91] nor his crumbling Reich bore the slightest resemblance to what they had been in 1933. In the bunker of the Chancellery built by Albert Speer, now linked to the outside world by radio and telephone only, Hitler decided on 29 April, 1945, to marry Eva Braun and then to put an end to both their lives. Shortly after 1 a.m., Walter Wagner, a municipal councillor fighting in a nearby Volkssturn unit, was rounded up and asked to solemnize the marriage

* *Cf.* Maser: *Adolf Hitler*, p. 339. Prostacrinum: extract of spermatocysts and prostate.

in the map room of the bunker. Dr Goebbels and Martin Bormann acted as witnesses. Eva Braun, who had been dreaming about her marriage to the Führer for at least ten years, was so excited that she began to sign the marriage certificate with her maiden name. Wagner, too, who asked Eva Braun whether she was willing to enter into marriage with 'my Führer Adolf Hitler' must have been highly nervous: he mis-spelled his own name, writing Waagner instead of Wagner.



Adolf Hitler on 29 March, 1945, six weeks before his marriage and suicide in the Reichs Chancellery. He had aged almost beyond recognition and could barely move without assistance. The photograph shows him awarding the Iron Cross to a group of Hitler Youth – all of them mere schoolboys.



Adolf Hitler and Eva Braun inspecting Hitler's birthday presents on 20 April, 1942.

3669 PS

Der Oberbürgermeister
der Reichshauptstadt

Vor ~~dem Oberbürgermeister der Reichshauptstadt Berlin als~~
~~Standesbeamten~~ [illegible] der [illegible]
[illegible]
als Standesbeamten der Reichshauptstadt, vom Oberbürgermeister beauftragt - sind zum Zwecke der [illegible] Eheschließung erschienen

1.
geb.
wohnhaft:
Vater:
Mutter:
[illegible]
ausgewiesen durch:

2.
geb.
wohnhaft:
Vater:
Mutter:
[illegible]
ausgewiesen durch:

3.
als Zeuge:
geb.
wohnhaft:
ausgewiesen durch:

4.
als Zeuge:
geb. 17.6.00 in Halberstadt
wohnhaft:
ausgewiesen durch:

- 2 -

The Chief Burgomaster
of the Reich Capital

Before Councillor
Walter Wagner
acting as city registrar on behalf of the Chief Burgomaster –
there appeared for the immediate solemnization of their
marriage

1. Adolf Hitler
born 29 April, 1889 in Braunau
resident in: the Reichs Chancellery, Berlin
Father:
Mother:
Parents married on:
identified by: [illegible]

2. Fräulein Eva Braun
born in: Munich, Wasserburger Strasse 12
resident in:
Father: Friedrich Braun
Mother: Franziska Braun, née Kranburger
Parents married on:
identified by: special pass [illegible] of the Head of the German
Police

3. As witness: Reichs Minister Dr Goebbels, Joseph
born 28 October, 1897 in Rheydt
resident in: Berlin, Hermann Göringstr. 20
identified by: [illegible]

4. As witness: Reichs Leader Martin Bormann
born 17 June, 1900
resident in: Obersalzberg
identified by: [illegible]

Those listed under 1. and 2. declare that they are of pure Aryan descent and that there are no hereditary impediments to their marriage. Because of extraordinary circumstances caused by the war they apply for a war marriage and further request that publication of the banns be dispensed with and that there be no other legal delays.

These requests are hereby granted. Their verbal statements have been examined and been found to be correct.

I now come to the solemn act of marriage. In the presence of the witnesses named above under 3. and 4. I ask you,

My Führer Adolf Hitler

whether you are willing to enter into marriage with

Fräulein Eva Braun

in which case I must ask you to say 'yes'.

I now ask you, Fräulein Eva Braun,

whether you are willing to enter into marriage with

My Führer Adolf Hitler

in which case I must ask you too to say 'yes'.

Both parties having signified that they wish to enter into marriage, I declare them legally man and wife.

Berlin, 29 April, 1945.

Read and signed:

1. Husband:	Adolf Hitler
2. Wife	Eva B(crossed out) Hitler née Braun
3. Witness for 1:	Dr Joseph Goebbels
4. Witness for 2:	Bormann
5. Wagner Registrar	

- 2 -

Die Erschienenen zu 1 und 2 erklären, daß sie rein arischer Abstammung und mit keiner die Eheschließung ausschließenden Erbkrankheiten befallen sind. Sie beantragen mit Rücksicht auf die Kriegsereignisse wegen außerordentlicher Umstände die Kriegstrauung und beantragen weiter das Aufgebot mündlich entgegenzunehmen und von sämtlichen Fristen Abstand zu nehmen.

Dem Anträgen wird stattgegeben. Das mündlich abgegebene Aufgebot ist geprüft und für ordnungsgemäß befunden worden.

Ich komme nunmehr zum feierlichen Akt der Eheschließung. In Gegenwart der obengenannten Zeugen zu 3 und 4 frage ich Sie, [illegible]

ob Sie gewillt sind, die Ehe mit [illegible]

einzugehen. In diesem Falle bitte ich Sie, mit "ja" zu antworten.
Nunmehr frage ich Sie, [illegible]

ob Sie gewillt sind, die Ehe mit [illegible]

einzugehen. In diesem Falle bitte ich auch Sie mit "ja" zu antworten.

Nachdem nunmehr beide Verlobte die Erklärung abgegeben haben die Ehe einzugehen, erkläre ich die Ehe vor dem Gesetz rechtmäßig für geschlossen.

Berlin, am [illegible] April 1945

Vorgelesen und unterschrieben:

1.) Ehemann: [illegible]
2.) Ehefrau: [illegible]
3.) Zeuge zu 1: [illegible]
4.) Zeuge zu 2: [illegible]
5.) [illegible]
als Standesbeamter

Hitler, who owed quite a few of his political successes to women,[92] and had offered a host of different explanations for his celibate state, had deferred marriage to the very last day of his life, by which time everything was lost. In October 1920, on the threshold of his political career, he had written to his old friend Lauböck that he, 'the ringleader of yore' was not 'yet polished enough to bind himself with tender ties,' and hence preferred to remain a bachelor:*

Dear Fritz,

It was with infinite joy that I received your kind letter yesterday which reminded me of the happy pranks we both of us used to play.

I was in Linz recently and strolling along all the old streets and lanes past our old house and through Ge . . enner Strasse, I chanced to think of you . . . The . . . fact that you are still alive, in Graz, and that you wrote to me was a pleasant surprise, for quite a few of our old comrades have . . . fallen in the war. As far as my family is concerned it consists, first of all, of a wonderful German sheepdog. I have not achieved anything greater as yet. Not even as the ringleader of today is the ringleader of yore polished enough to bind himself with tender ties.

Please write again soon. Warmest regards from

Your old friend,

Adolf Hitler.[93].

Eight years later, in May 1928, Hitler explained in another letter to an acquaintance that his unsettled life and uncertain future stood in the way of his marriage.†

In his last will and testament, which he dictated to his secretary Gertrud Junge immediately after the marriage ceremony, he declared that throughout the years of his struggle and of his 'work in the service of [his] people' he had considered it irresponsible to enter into marriage, and that he had only changed his mind, before the end of his life on earth, so as to be united with Eva Braun in death.

* *Cf.* p. 99.

† See p. 115.



ADOLF HITLER

Mein privates Testament.

Da ich in den Jahren des Kampfes glaubte, es nicht verantworten zu können, eine Ehe zu gründen, habe ich mich nunmehr vor Beendigung dieser irdischen Laufbahn entschlossen, jenes Mädchen nur Frau zu nehmen, das nach langen Jahren treuer Freundschaft aus freiem Willen in die schon fast belagerte Stadt hereinkam, um ihr Schicksal mit dem meinen zu teilen. Sie geht auf ihren Wunsch als meine Gattin mit mir in den Tod. Er wird uns das ersetzen, was meine Arbeit im Dienst meines Volkes uns beiden raubte.

Was ich besitze, gehört - soweit es überhaupt von Wert ist - der Partei. Sollte diese nicht mehr existieren, dem Staat, sollte

5

- 2 -

auch der Staat vernichtet werden, ist eine weitere Entscheidung von mir nicht mehr notwendig.

Ich habe meine Gemälde in den von mir im Laufe der Jahre angekauften Sammlungen niemals für private Zwecke, sondern stets nur für den Ausbau einer Galerie in meiner Heimatstadt Linz a.d.Donau gesammelt.

Dass dieses Vermächtnis vollzogen wird, wäre mein herzlichster Wunsch.

Zum Testamentsvollstrecker ernenne ich meinen treuesten Parteigenossen

Martin B o r m a n n .

Er ist berechtigt, alle Entscheidungen endgültig und rechtsgültig zu treffen. Es ist ihm gestattet, alles das, was persönlichen Erinnerungswert besitzt, oder zur Erhaltung eines kleinen bürgerlichen Lebens notwendig ist, meinen Geschwistern abzutrennen, ebenso vor allem der Mutter meiner Frau und meinen, ihm genau bekannten treuen Mitarbeitern und Mit-

My Private Will.

Because, in the years of my struggle, I thought it irresponsible to enter into marriage I have now, before the end of my life on earth, decided to take that girl for my wife who after many years of sincere friendship freely entered the beleaguered city to share her fate with mine. It is her express wish to join me in death as my wife. It will recompense us both for what both of us have sacrificed through my work in the service of my people.

All I own – if any of it is of value – belongs to the Party. If the latter should no longer exist, it belongs to the State, and if the latter should be destroyed as well no further decision on my part is needed.

The paintings I have collected throughout the years were never meant for my private enjoyment but always for a gallery to be built in my native Linz on the Danube.

That this request be met is my sincerest wish.

As executor I appoint my most loyal Party Comrade,

Martin Bormann

whom I hereby authorize to make all final decisions. He is entitled to hand whatever may serve as a personal memento or help to sustain a simple middle-class life to my sisters and also to my wife's mother and to the

arbeiterinnen, an der Spitze meinen alten Sekretären, Sekretärinnen, Frau Winter, usw., die mich jahrelang durch ihre Arbeit unterstützten.

Ich selbst und meine Gattin wählen, um der Schande des Absetzens oder der Kapitulation zu entgehen, den Tod. Es ist unser Wille, sofort an der Stelle verbrannt zu werden, an der ich den grössten Teil meiner täglichen Arbeit im Laufe eines zwölfjährigen Dienstes an meinem Volke geleistet habe.

Gegeben zu Berlin, den 29. April 1945, 4.00 Uhr

als Zeugen:
Martin
[illegible]

als Zeugen:
[illegible]
[illegible]

faithful collaborators he knows so well, headed by my former secretaries, Frau Winter and others, who for years have assisted me in my work.

I myself and my wife have chosen death rather than suffer the disgrace of dismissal or capitulation. It is our wish to be burnt at once at the very place I have done the major part of my daily work in the service of my people during the past twelve years.

Berlin, 29 April, 1945, 4 a.m.

Adolf Hitler

as witnesses:
Martin Bormann
Dr Goebbels

as witness:
Nicolaus von Below

This testament, in which Hitler called Martin Bormann his 'most loyal Party Comrade' was far less vainglorious than his so-called political testament. In particular, it stated quite plainly that so much was he at the end of his tether that he could not even tell if his Party or his beloved Reich would continue after his suicide.[94]

But what Hitler put down in writing in his last will, he had begun to suspect by 1942 at the very latest. This did not, however, prevent him from making the following bombastic declaration on 30 May, 1942: 'I do not doubt for a single second that we shall win in the end. Fate has not led me this far for nothing, from an unknown soldier to the Führer of the German nation, and Führer of the German army. She has not done this simply to mock at me and to snatch away at the last moment what had to be gained after so bitter a struggle.'[95]

And even on 5 July, 1944, 299 days before his death, Hitler still painted the same picture. 'The gods love those,' he explained then, 'of whom they ask the impossible and who ask the impossible of them. And when we do the impossible we shall assuredly win the approval of

Providence. I may not be a light of the church, a pulpiteer, but deep down I am a pious man, and believe that whoever fights bravely in defence of the natural laws framed by God and never capitulates will never be deserted by the Lawgiver, but will, in the end, receive the blessings of Providence.'[96]



The beginning: Hitler speaks at the trooping of the colours in Munich on 28 January, 1923.



The end: Hitler during the last weeks of his life.

PART II

Hitler's Political Philosophy

CHAPTER SIX

Antisemitism

During his year's detention in Landsberg Fortress Hitler dictated his 'Vindication', a term by which he often referred to *Mein Kampf*, the first volume of his 'literary works', published on 18 July, 1925.[97] 'Vienna', he wrote in it, 'was and remains . . . my most thorough school of life . . . In it I obtained the foundations for a philosophy in general and for a political view in particular which I had only to complete in detail but which never left me again . . .'[98] At that time there took shape within me a world view and a political philosophy that became the granite foundation of all my actions. To what I constructed then I may have had to add a little knowledge but I never had to alter anything.'[99]

On 10 September, 1919, when Hitler was still in the army* and stationed in Munich, one of his superiors, Staff-Captain Karl Meyer, asked him to state his views on the Socialists' attitude to Jewry,[100] addressing him by the most unmilitary title of 'Dear Herr Hitler'. Hitler gladly obliged, the more so as this 'request' was, in fact, an order from a superior officer. He replied on 16 September, 1919:

> If the threat with which Jewry faces our people has given rise to undeniable hostility on the part of a large section of our people, the cause of this hostility must not be sought in the clear recognition that Jewry as such is deliberately or unwittingly having a pernicious effect on our nation, but mostly in personal intercourse, in the poor impression the Jew makes as an individual. As a result antisemitism far too readily assumes a purely

* Hitler was demobilized in March 1920.

emotional character. But this is not the correct response. Antisemitism as a political movement may not and cannot be moulded by emotional factors but only by recognition of facts. Now the facts are:

To begin with, the Jews are unquestionably a race, not a religious community. And the Jew himself never describes himself as a Jewish German, a Jewish Pole or a Jewish American, but always as a German, Polish or American Jew. Never has the Jew absorbed more from the alien people in whose midst he lives than their language. And no more than a German who is forced to use the French language in France, the Italian language in Italy, and the Chinese language in China, thereby becomes a Frenchman, an Italian, let alone a Chinaman, no more can we call a Jew who happens to live amongst us and who is therefore forced to use the German language, a German. And even the Mosaic faith, however great its importance for the preservation of that race, cannot be the sole criterion for deciding who is a Jew and who is not. There is hardly a race in the world whose members all belong to a single religion.

Through inbreeding for thousands of years, often in very small circles, the Jew has been able to preserve his race and his racial characteristics much more successfully than most of the numerous people among whom he lives. As a result we have living in our midst a non-German, alien race, unwilling and indeed unable to shed its racial characteristics, its particular feelings, thoughts and ambitions and nevertheless enjoying the same political rights as we ourselves do. And since even the Jew's feelings are limited to the material sphere, his thoughts and ambitions are bound to be so even more strongly. The dance round the golden calf becomes a ruthless struggle for all those goods that we feel deep down are not the highest and not the only ones worth striving for on this earth.

The work of an individual is no longer determined by his character, by the importance of his achievement for the community, but solely by the size of his fortune, his wealth.

The greatness of the nation is no longer measured by the sum of its moral and spiritual resources, but only by its material goods.

All this results in that mental attitude and that quest for money and the power to protect it which allow the Jew to become so unscrupulous in his choice of means, so merciless in their use for his own ends. In autocratic states he cringes before the 'majesty' of the princes and misuses their favours to become a leech on their people.

In a democracy he vies for the favours of the masses, grovels before 'the majesty of the people', but only recognizes the majesty of money.

He saps the prince's character by Byzantine flattery; national pride and the strength of the nation by ridicule and shameless seduction to vice. His chosen weapon is public opinion as falsified by the press. His power is the power of the money he accumulates so easily and endlessly in the form of interest and with which he imposes a yoke upon the nation that is the more pernicious in that its glitter disguises its dire consequences. Everything that makes the people strive for greater things, be it religion, socialism or democracy, merely serves the Jew as a means to the satisfaction of his greed and thirst for power.

The results of his works is racial tuberculosis of the nation.

And this has the following consequences: purely emotional antisemitism finds its final expression in the form of progroms [*sic*!]. Rational antisemitism, by contrast, must lead to a systematic and legal struggle against, and eradication of, what privileges the Jews enjoy over other foreigners living among us (Alien Laws). Its final objective, however, must be the total removal of all Jews from our midst. Both objectives can only be achieved by a government of national strength, never by a government of national impotence.

The German Republic owes its birth not to the united will of our people, but to the underhand exploitation of a series of circumstances that, taken together, express themselves in deep dissatisfaction. These circumstances, however, arose independently of the political structure and are at work even today. Indeed, more so than ever before. Hence a large part of our people have come to recognize that it is not by changing the structure of the state as such that our position can be improved, but only

by the rebirth of the nation's moral and spiritual forces.

And this rebirth cannot be prepared by the leadership of an irresponsible majority influenced by party dogmas or by the internationalist catchphrases and slogans of an irresponsible press, but only by determined acts on the part of nationally-minded leaders with an inner sense of responsibility.

This very fact serves to deprive the Republic of the inner support of the spiritual forces any nation needs very badly. Hence the present leaders of the nation are forced to seek the support of those who alone have benefited and continue to benefit from changing the form of the German state, and who for that very reason became the driving force of the Revolution – the Jews. Disregarding the Jewish threat, which is undoubtedly recognized even by the present-day leaders (as witness various statements by prominent personalities), these men are forced to accept Jewish favours to their private advantage and to repay these favours. And the repayment does not merely involve satisfying every possible Jewish demand, but above all preventing the struggle of the duped people against their deceivers, by sabotaging the antisemitic movement.

Yours truly,

Adolf Hitler.

This 'expert opinion', Hitler's first political manifesto,[101] shows clearly that though, by September 1919, when he joined the German Workers' Party,* his antisemitism had already become an established part of his political stock-in-trade, it was not yet nearly as depraved and vicious as it was to become. Even when he was 'appointed' sole 'Führer' of the NSDAP, in July 1921, he still retained most of the traditional antisemitic ideas and formulations of the German and Austrian Pan-Germans,† with whose concepts he had been familiar even as a schoolboy. Thus when he drafted a speech shortly before 20 February, 1920, it was by no means fear of the Social-Democratic government led by Johannes Hoffman which prevented him from making more radical demands and from levelling more vicious

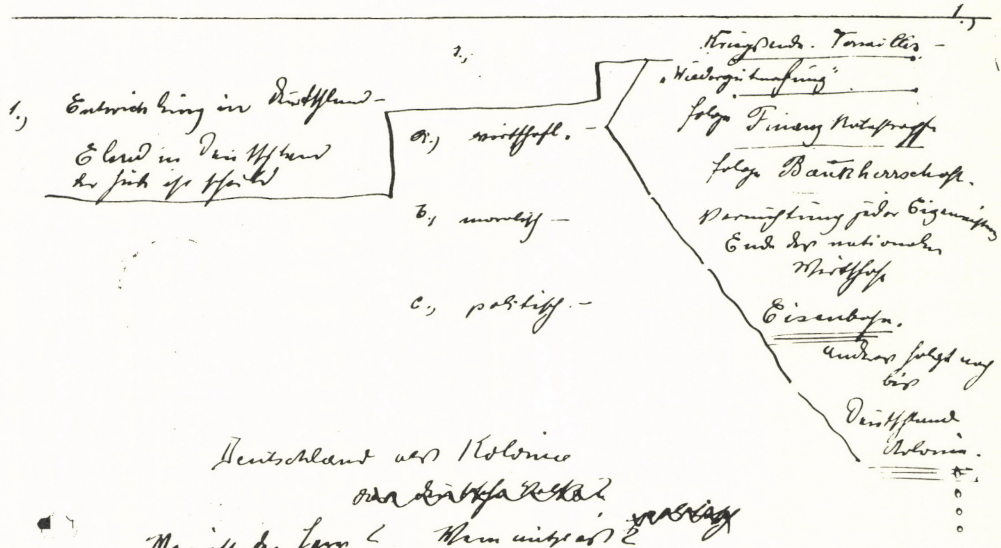
* The German Workers' Party (DAP) became the National Socialist German Workers' Party (NSDAP) in February 1920.

† Hitler rarely spoke from notes, which he used chiefly to jog his memory, and often let himself go, particularly when it came to such emotionally charged subjects as the Jewish 'problem'.

accusations against the Jews, but simply the fact that he still drew exclusively on the traditional stock of antisemitic catchphrases.

Even after 16 March, 1920, when the Social Democrats were ousted by the Bavarian People's Party, headed by Gustav von Kahr, who was favourably inclined to Hitler's political ideas until the end of 1923, Hitler's main arguments did not change appreciably – all he did was to repeat the old slogans and to blame every political setback on the Jews. From 13 March, 1919, to 24 November, 1920, he delivered the following speeches at DAP and NSDAP meetings: two on the peace of Brest-Litovsk, three on the peace of Versailles, two on the programme of his Party, three on the 'political situation', one each on 'Germany before her deepest humiliation', 'Political happenings', 'Everyday life', 'Finances', 'Spa and Moscow', 'Germany as a free country', 'Germany's old relationships', 'Might and Right', 'Reconciliation or Force', 'International solidarity or self-help', 'National welfare and the national idea', and '1918'. The fact that Hitler, of whom the Social Democratic *Münchner Post* said on 14 August, 1920, that he was the sharpest of all the agitators 'presently doing mischief in Munich', delivered only two speeches that year whose very title betrayed his hatred of the Jews, shows how skilful a demagogue he had become even so early on in his career.[102]

Right at the beginning of his notes, Hitler asserts categorically that 'the Jew is to blame', and raises the unhappy outcome of the First World War, the harsh conditions and repercussions of the Versailles treaty, into an effective propaganda platform. The claim that parliamentarianism enslaves the nation and threatens to turn Germany into a colony was bound to appeal to wounded German emotions and to fire the zeal of his adherents.



Deutschland als Kolonie

oder Selbstbestimmung?

Wer ist der Herr? Wem nützt es?

Die Weltbörse. –

Finanz Kapital

Der Kampf gegen das Kapital. pro 50. Jahren.

Erfolg?

Ende der nationalen Wirtschaft.

Warum?

Wir sind die Börse bekämpft.

Warum?

Der Süden

wirtschaftlich Unterjochung der Nation

moralische Auflösung

politische Zerspaltung und Ausbeutung durch den

Parlamentarismus

1.) Developments in Germany – End of war – Versailles –
Germany's poverty 'Reparations'
The Jew is to blame Result: Financial catastrophe

Result: Bankers' rule
a.) economically – Loss of self-respect
Loss of economic
b.) morally – control
Railways
c.) politically –
everything else follows
until
Germany
Germany as a colony [is a] colony

Who is the master? Who benefits?
The international stock exchange.

Finance capital
The fight against capital for the past 50 years
Success?

Loss of economic control

Why?
Was the stock exchange ever attacked?
Why not?
The Jew
Economic subjugation of the nation
moral erosion
political corrosion and enslavement through
parliamentarianism

2,

Lassen sich irgendwelche Hoffnungen ?
des nationalen Wiederaufstiegs ? u. p. o. ?

Was ist die heutige Aufgabe Innenpolitik ?

Was soll (innere) Politik sein. | Ordnung der wirtschaftlichen Existenzbedingungen der einzelnen Stände Klassen u. p. v. im Staat unter einander so dass die Möglichkeit einer Hebung der Gesamtheit zum Wohle Aller ergibt.

Innere Politik.

Die Ordnung der Verhältnisse innerhalb eines Staates (der Staat untereinander).

Äußere Politik.

(es kann nur eine gesunde Politik geben.

Volkspolitik.

zum Unterschied zu

Klassenpolitik.

Parteipolitik

Wozu. — ist Klassen oder Parteipolitik einem Volkswohle

Die nationale Wirtschaft eines Volkes
ist unmöglich
bei Klassen oder Parteipolitischer Behandlung der Fragen.

What hopes are left today?
of national resurrection? etc.?
What is Germany's home policy today?
What should her (home) policy be.
Regulation of economic –
cultural and social
relations between social ranks,
vocations, classes, etc. in the state
so that
there is a chance of
a national leadership
for the welfare of all.

Home affairs
Regulation of the state's relation
with the outside world – (of states
to one another –

Foreign policy.
There can only be one healthy policy
a national policy.
in contrast to
a class policy

Party politics
Why. – are class or party politics always harmful to the nation
Economic control
is impossible
with a class or party-political approach to all
questions

3

Jede Schwächung des Staates im Innern
bedeutet —
Entwertung nach Außen
Abwanderung tüchtiger Staaten aber nur ermöglicht durch
Teilnahme am internationalen Weltmarkt.
(Weltmarkt.)
das heißt nur durch freie kräftige Staaten.

Kann Deutschland heute sich wieder erheben.
Ja, können wir?
(Spaltung der Handelsbeziehungen.)

1. Weil die Moral des ganzen Volkes verloren gieng

zunächst ein materiell — . Von roher Kommunismus.

Der Staat der Juden am Weltmarkt.

Wie hat der Judenkampf begonnen.

1914. — das deutsche Volk. — Kriegsmarine.
15 — 16 — 17 — 18 — 19 — 20 —

Wer hat begonnen? Der Jude.

sittliche Moral.

wenigstens annähernd —
klug genug?

Presse — Literatur — Kunst — Kino — Theater —
Wissenschaft — (Hirschfeld.)

Verschiebung des nationalen Gedankens — Nationale Seite
der nationalen Kunst —

Weakening the state from within
means –
debasing it before the world
But survival of certain states depends on
participation in international money market
(world trade)
Only open to free, powerful states.
Can Germany revive today.
No; why not?
Deliverance from the
Peace Treaties.)
1. Because the morale of the whole nation has been sapped

by material pressures first and foremost. – How did this come about?

The State of the profiteer and usurer
How did the evil of profiteering start.
1914. – The nation then. – the Army
15 – 16 – 17 – 18 – 19 – 20 –
Who started it? The Jew
Morality
why destroyed –
by whom?

Press – Literature – Art – Cinema – Theatre –
Science – (Hirschfeld)
Flouting the national ideal – National heroes
National Art. –

Here platitudes have been wedded to truisms to produce totally illogical conclusions. In particular, the claim that party politics are always harmful to the nation is not only ill-founded but comes strangely from the leader of a political party.

No less ludicrous is the suggestion that Germany could not revive because 'the morale of the whole nation' had been sapped by profiteers and usurers led by Jews.

4.)

Unsoziale Zusammensetzung der Klassengegensätze.

Bourgeois
Lastzug ?
Lastzug ?
Geistesarbeiter ?
Aufseher ?

[redacted]
Lastzug ?
Handarbeiter ?
Angestellte ?

alles falsch

Klassenausdrücke zur
Letzten Zerreißung des eigenen Selbst
Entfremdung = Klassenkampf.

und Warum das alles ?

[redacted]

Es soll sich im Staat ein neuer Staat gestalten

Der Jude.

Die Rasse ohne Grund — und mit der ganzen Welt

Israel.

das einzige jüdische Ziel — Weltherrschaft.

Der christliche Jude.
Der germanische Jude
Der fremde Jude.
Der fremde Jude.

} Mischt sich ein, [illegible]

Warum hatte der Jude nie einen eigenen Staat ?

Der Jude und die Arbeit.

[redacted]

Egoismus —— soviel wie
wenig wie —— wieviel wie.

Unprecedented intensification of class differences.
Proletariat Middle classes –
The have-nots? The haves?
Manual workers? Intellectual workers?
The exploited? The exploiters?
so many false
class divisions preparing
the final destruction of the people
Civil war – Class war
and for what?
A new state has arisen within the state
The Jew
The race without roots – and throughout the world

Jahve

the eternal Jewish aim. – World rule.
The humble Jew
the officious Jew The work of millenia
the impertinent Jew –
the domineering Jew –

Why did the Jew never have his own state?

The Jew and Work
Egoism Socialism
Mammonism Socialism.

Whereas, in September 1919, Hitler still confined himself to speaking of a 'non-German, alien race' living 'in our midst',[103] he now spoke of a Jewish 'state within a state' and asserted that the 'Jew never had his own state'. To that end he conveniently forgot that, in the eleventh century B.C., for instance, Saul re-united the twelve tribes of Israel, divided since Joshua's death, into a single nation, and that King David founded the Kingdom of Israel with Jerusalem as its capital and the whole of Palestine as its domain, two facts with which he was perfectly familiar[104] but which did not suit his argument.

5.)

Der nicht selber arbeitet — gunstet der Arbeitskraft anderer Völker.

Der Zins.

als Mittel zur Wegnahme der nationalen Lebensgüter der Nationen und Verschlechterung ihrer Produktionskraft.

Das Eindringen in die Völker.

Durch Journale.

Durch öffentliche Meinung (der Juden als Vertreter)

durch Presse — Literatur — Drama —

Zerstörung der nationalen Kraft. durch:

1. Entsittlichung der Moral
2. Vernichtung der Ehrlichkeit.
3. Religion

Der Juden als d. Arzt.

5. Der Juden als Beichter und Beichtvermögen.

Geldgabe — Geldnehmer. —

Langsames Eindringen der Völker.

Beginnende Abneigung der Völker

Der unsympathisch und bestrebt die Fürsten.

Mischung der besten Geister und Sitten eines Volkes.

Der Juden sind verkommen.

Since he himself does no work he hires the labour power of others

Interest
as a means of robbing the nation of its natural resources
and of putting its productive force in pawn

Penetration of the nations.
Harmless at first.
Attempt to influence public opinion
(the Jew as benefactor)
Through press – literature – art
Destruction of national strength through
1. Sapping morality
2. Destruction of honesty
3. Religion
The Jew as doctor
5. The Jew as judge and lawyer
Coins money – hoards gold –
Slow throttling of the people
The nations start resisting
He flatters and bribes the princes.

Resistance by the best minds and leaders of the people.
The Jew is found out.

Hitler's claim that the Jews do no work was perhaps the most blatant lie of all, for there was no need to go back to the Old Testament to discover that work took pride of place in their moral code. Thus rabbinical teaching insists that man must do manual labour if he is to receive God's blessing, and the Pentateuch states nine times that it behoves man to work for his keep. Moreover the greatest of Jewish scholars all earned their living as artisans: more than a hundred of them are mentioned by name in the Talmud. Judges, writers and teachers are called God's servants and labourers in the Old Testament, and Moses, the Prophets and the Kings are often referred to as 'shepherds'. *Melakha*, the Hebrew for 'craft', refers to a concrete task man must perform on God's orders to earn God's blessing.

6

Der Jude bringt die

Demokratie.

und erdrückt damit die

Vernunft.

Demokratie = Massenherrschaft =

öffentliche Meinung = Presse = Kapital = Jude.

Germanische Demokratie — durch Vernunft die Masse zu überzeugen.

jüdische Demokratie — durch die Masse mit der Vernunft fertig zu werden.

Die Demokratie zur Lähmung des

Selbsterhaltungswillens

zu seiner Beherrschung + Abschaffung der Todfeinde.

letztes Ziel aber ist Vernichtung des

Völker

Demokratie

Diktatur des Proletariats



Klassenkampf.

Letzter Widerstand

rationale Intelligenz.

muß ausgemerzt werden

der Jude als Lichtträger ★

The Jew brings

Democracy.

and with it stifles

Reason.

Democracy = majority decision =
Public opinion = Press = Capital = Jew

German democracy – means persuading the majority with reason.
Jewish democracy – means killing the majority with reason.

Democracy means breaking the
nation's resistance
To that end – abolition of the death sentence
But final aim subjugation of all the nations

Hence

Democracy Dictatorship of the Proletariat.

Final resistance Class struggle
National intelligence
must be destroyed
the Jew as leech

7.

Bolschewismus.

Der blutige Jude.

Das wirkliche Gesicht.

Abschluß der geistigen Entwicklung eines Volkes.

Ein Volk ohne Geistesaristokratie ist verloren.

(der Logos)

X Dietrich Eckart X

Der Jude als Diktator

Und der jetzige Umschwung?

dunkle Mächte

Demokratie oder Diktatur

Kein

zwischen

Juda und Germanen.

Wer begreift das?

die Entscheidung?

die Entscheidung?

Machtverhältnis

Bolschewismus gegen Kapitalismus

Demokratie gegen Demokratie

Kapitalismus gegen Juda

Bolshevism
The bloody Jew.
Butchery of the intellectual
leadership of the nation.
The Russian mortuary
A people without intellectual workers is
lost.
(The Soviet
X Dietrich Ekart X[107])
The Jew as dictator
And present-day Germany?
Fight between
democracy and dictatorship
No
between
Jew and German.

Who has grasped this?
The parties on the Left?
The parties on the Right?
Election slogan
Middle class against proletariat
Class against Class
instead of
Germans against Jews.

In *Mein Kampf*, Hitler went much further than that. 'If the Jews were alone in the world,' he wrote there, 'they would stifle in dirt and offal . . . or try to exterminate one another in a hate-filled struggle.'[105] He ignored the fact, well-known to himself,[106] that the very people whom he had pilloried since 1919 were compelled by their religion not only to labour by the sweat of their brow but also to help their neighbours, Jew or Gentile, to the best of their ability, and that the ancient Hebrews, unlike the Babylonians, Greeks and Romans, never put men in chains, or sold them like cattle to the highest bidder.

How far Hitler still had to travel before he arrived at the preposterous ideas he developed in *Mein Kampf* may be gathered from the fact that, though his notes referred to 'the Russian mortuary', the 'butchery of the intellectual leadership of the nation' and the conflict between 'Jew and German', he did not yet so much as hint at the

8.

~~Gibt es~~ Gibt es noch
antisemitische Parteien
Nein. —
Höchstens vor den Wahlen.
Und warum nicht?
Kein Interesse.
Kein Stimmvieh von den ungeheuren Massen
dieser Juden.
Gräfe) D. n. V.P. Bay. V. P. Deutsch. V. P. U. D. P.
Liebermann. P. 1. 2. 3. 4. 5.
Russen.

Unsere Partei ist gewillt die Juden zu bekämpfen.
Beitritt zu uns
Juden aus Deutschland hinaus.

Do we still have
antisemitic parties?
No. –
At most before the elections.
And why not?
No consistency.
No appreciation of the tremendous importance
of this question.
Graefe)* German National People's Party. Bavarian People's Party.
People's Party. German Workers' Party.
Parties of the Left – P. 1. 2. 3. 4. 5.
Right.
Our party† is willing to solve this question –
Germans, rally to our side!
Jews out of Germany.

chilling conclusions of that book. Hitler was still one voice in the general chorus of German antisemites and Jew-baiters,‡ all of whom would have endorsed his 'Jews out of Germany'.[108] In *Mein Kampf*, by contrast, he offered the following, more 'original', analysis: 'By abandoning Russia to Bolshevism, Fate robbed the Russian nation of that educated class which previously brought about and guaranteed its existence as a State. For the organization of a Russian state formation was not the result of the political acumen of the Slavs in Russia but a wonderful example of the state-forming capacity of the German element in an inferior race . . . For centuries, Russia drew nourishment from this Germanic nucleus of its upper and leading strata. This Germanic element may today be regarded as almost totally exterminated and extinguished. The Jew has taken its place. Impossible as it is for the Russian by himself to shake off the yoke of the Jew by his own resources, it is equally impossible for the Jew to maintain the mighty empire for ever. He himself is not an element of organization but a

* Albrecht von Graefe, former President of the German National People's Party (founded in 1922) was a member of the NSDAP until the Hitler Putsch in 1923. In 1929, Hitler sued him for libel.

† By 'our party' Hitler meant the NSDAP, though he still kept calling it the DAP (German Workers' Party).

‡ As early as 1918 antisemites blamed the Jews for Germany's unpopularity, for milking the nation of billions of marks during the war, and for having staged the German Revolution as a cover behind which to hide their own criminality. *Cf. From Hohenzollern to Jewish rule*, pamphlet published by the German Popular Alliance, December 1918 (quoted in Jochmann, p. 6).

ferment of decomposition. The giant Empire in the east is ripe for collapse. And the end of Jewish rule in Russia will also be the end of Russia as a state.'[109] What conclusions he drew from all this he explained in 1925 after his release from prison. 'The soil on which generations of German farmers can one day beget powerful sons justifies the investment of our sons of today and will some day acquit the responsible statesmen, of bloodguilt and sacrifice of the people, even if they are persecuted by their contemporaries.'[110] At the same time he also wrote that '. . . we National Socialists . . . will stop the endless German drive to the south and west and turn our gaze towards the land in the east. At long last we break off the colonial and commercial policy of the pre-War period and shift to the soil policy of the future. And when we speak of soil in Europe today, we think primarily of Russia and her vassal border states.'[111]



In the Führer's Headquarters, 1943. Hitler in conversation with Bormann.

3.)

Wann trifft die „Preissteuerung"
unser bestimmt „Krise"
(arbeitend schaffend und. (Arier, Deutsche)
Russen.)
wann nicht?
(ohnen und Spekulanten.
(Juden.)

Der Hunger im Dienste des Judentums
„Weisen von Zion"
(einmal „nicht jeder Jude wird dies wissen"

Nach der Krise gestiegen
beginnt
tritt der gewöhnliche un-
bestimmt.

Hat die bisher
Mutterschaft..?
Ja.

Der Hunger im Frieden
(Preistreiberei) durch
Börse, i. Spekulation!
Lieferungsbedingung
um nichts [illegible].

den Juden. (Preistreiberei und Not im Kriege

Who is worst hit by 'price rises'
only certain 'circles'
The workers. (Aryans, Germans
Russians)
Who is not?
Drones and Speculators,
(Jews.)
Hunger in the service of Jewry
The 'Elders of Zion'
Objection: 'not every Jew knows about it'
What the wise man grasps with his mind
the man in the street grasps
instinctively.
Has this been
happening?
Yes.
Hunger in peacetime
(Price increases.) through
Stock Exchange and Speculation?
Luxuries
etc.
whom does it benefit?
The Jew (Social democracy and misery in peacetime)

These notes sum up Hitler's antisemitic ideas before the formulation of his 'final' philosophy. Hitler alleges that the Jews do no work, speculate on the Stock Exchange, lust after luxury, deliberately starve mankind, and aim for world control in accordance with the dictates of the so-called 'Elders of Zion'. In order not to except a single Jew from this taint, he added 'What the wise man grasps with his mind, the man in the street grasps instinctively.'

Lebensbedingung jede völkische Erhaltung

Rassenselbstmord

Vorbedingung dazu ist Massenvermehrung

kann ergänzt werden durch Massenmord — Hunger.

der Hunger als Kampfmittel zu allen Zeiten.

der Hunger im Dienste der Juden.

zerstört Körperkraft und Gesundheit vernichtet den Widerstand.

---

planmäßige Volksaufklärung über Hungerung.

1.) In Deutschland vor dem Krieg.

2.) Während des Krieges.

Eradication of all nationalist
intellectuals
Racial suicide
Prepared by
mass madness
which can be manufactured

through mass misery – hunger,

starvation as a weapon
always
starvation in the service of the Jews.

Destroys physical strength and health
and addles the brain

Systematic starvation of the nation
through inflation.

1.) In Germany before the war.

2.) During the war.

According to the 'Protocols' of the 'Elders of Zion', a forgery of whose existence Hitler learned after 1919, probably from Alfred Rosenberg, a Balt who did not become a naturalized German until 19 February, 1923, 'world Jewry' had secretly agreed to seize control of the world from the Gentiles. Although the 'Protocols' were said variously to have originated in France in 1901, during a secret session of the First Zionist Congress held in Basle in 1897, in the Proceedings of the Jewish Sanhedrin resurrected by Napoleon I in

Fortsetzung in Volksausgabe 3.)

Juden unter sich usw.
(Gedruckt nur in Handexemplaren)

(Wie Ring dann sich bei einem Schlingewächs)

Hervor im Thron zu allen Zeiten
Aeltestein – Mittelalter – Neuzeit –
Immer verschlagen
Immer ohne Gesetz.
Wie viel die Völker schon von Juden aus
Notwehr.

Wirtschaftl. Parasitentum ist ohne weiteres
Ersetzen.

Kein dauernde wirtschaftliche Verschlechterung
ohne politische Verschlechterung.

Ein Ring, Kreis zur Weltherrschaft.
Der Jude ist Weltspekulant = Mensch

Jahwe Prophezeiung ist nur der
Ausdruck für das Phänomen an sich, und ist das

Jewish Domination and Starvation of the People

Jews left to themselves are poor.
(Only flourish as foreign bodies)

(Effects like those of creepers)

State within the State at all times
Antiquities – Middle Ages – Modern times –
Always persecuted
Always hated.
Not because the nations were bad but in self defence.

Econ.[omic] parasitism is tantamount to control.

No lasting economic enslavement without 'political domination'

Hence the 'drive to seize world control'.

The Jew as 'world factor' = & = Power
Jahwe's prophecy is only an expression of this clear objective

1807 (*cf. Numbers*, 11, 16), and though they could, moreover, be traced back to a satirical dialogue between Machiavelli and Montesquieu in hell, aimed at Napoleon III, and published as part of the German novel *Biaritz* (1868), they were at first taken quite seriously not only by Hitler but by most other German antisemites.

In 1934–1935, when the Swiss Israelitic Alliance and the Israelitic Congregation in Berne laid a criminal charge against the antisemites Theodor Fischer and Silvio Schnell, the Swiss court found that the 'Protocols' were a deliberate forgery probably originating in the Paris offices of the Russian Political Police (Ochrana), meant for use by the Tsarist government against Russian liberals. But by that time Hitler had been appointed Reichs Chancellor and no longer needed the

4.)

Notwendige Folge der Grundlegung der Juden.

Kriegsgeschäft oder alle
dieser alle Judenschöpfungen Mittel zum
Weltgeschäft.

Wir sehen vor dem Kampf um Gold.

wirtschaftlich und politisch

Kein geistige Verwandtschaft,
Mischung als Mittel.
im einzelnen und im Großen.

Wirtschaftlich.

I. Ausschaltung des Produktionskapitals (Handels)
Börsenspekulation – Preisbildung

Rohstoffmonopol

Nicht Bodenbesitz sondern Kontrolle
(Bodenbesitz) (Einfluß)
Mittelalter Kontrolle der gesammten Produktion

Essential consequence of the Jewish character*

Complete control or none at all
Hence all the Jew's actions aimed at
world control.

How does he fight for these.
economically and politically

By intellectual preparation
Pity as a means
in particular and in general

Economically
1. Erosion of the economy, of commerce
Stock exchange dictatorship – Price policy

monopoly of raw materials

Not land ownership but control.
(Tenant farmers) (Book of Esther)
Middle Ages: control of all production

'Protocols' to whip up his fellow countrymen. During the time of his 'struggle' and especially after the First World War,[112] however, the 'Protocols' were his most important 'proof' that 'World-Jewry' was intent upon subjugating the rest of the world.[113]

* In the early days Hitler based his 'analyses' of the Jews not only on traditional German preconceptions but also on Karl Marx, who had written in the *Deutsch-Französische Jahrbücher* (1843–1844): 'What is the worldly basis of Judaism? Practical need and self-interest. What is the Jew's worldly worship? Haggling. Who is his worldly god? Mammon.' (Karl Marx: *Frühschriften* ('Early Writings'), Stuttgart, 1953, p. 201.)

9

Friedensvertrag in.
Innsbruck. —

Die Masse um Waldheim
Die Masse der deutschen Niederlage
die Masse [illegible] der Revolution
" " der Waffenstillstände
" " der Friedensverträge
sind die grösse
wie die Masse
der deutschen Volksvernichtung
Wert und Ort sind.
Der deutsche Schicksal ist
Weltschicksal.

Unsere Aufgabe
Vernichtung der
deutschen
Kapitals und seiner Verbündeten der Volksfeinde
der damit auch zerstört wird
das Werk
unserer Arbeiterklasse.
der nationale Generalstreik.
Arbeiter wache auf.

Peace Treaty and
Jewish question. –

The instigators of the War
the instigators of the German defeat
the instigators of the revolution
the instigators of the armistice
the instigators of the Peace treaty
are the same
as the instigators
of Russian Bolshevism
Western and Eastern Jews.
Germany's fate is
the fate of Western culture.
Our task
The destruction of
Jewish
Capital and its religion: Bolshevism
the fight is waged not
with words
but by resistance.
the general strike.
Germany defend yourself.

In *Mein Kampf*, which was given its final form after the London Conference* had adopted the Dawes Plan,† Hitler not only borrowed freely from Bölsche's *Vom Bazillus zum Affenmenschen* ('From Bacillus to Anthropoid Ape', 1921)‡, but also developed his own, particularly virulent, brand of antisemitism which eventually led him

* 16–17 August, 1924.
† See Note 114.
‡ For Bölsche's doctrine and its impact on Hitler's antisemitism, see Note 115.

9.

Nach dem Krieg.

Ursachen der Teuerung.

Waffenstillstand.

Landwirtschaft,

Friedensvertrag.

Wie kann er geschlossen werden.

Lösung der Friedensfrage.

Hoffnung eines besseren Morgen

Unser Programm

Aufstellung einer neuen Wehrmacht

Kampf gegen uns.

Berlin.

Deutschland wird deutsch sein.

Revolution
der
Börse.
Frauenstimmrecht

After the war
Causes of the price increases
Armistice.
Mismanagement.

Revolution
by the
Stock Exchange.
Frankfurter Zeitung

Peace Treaty.

How can it be solved.
Solution of the Jewish question.
Creation of a social State

Our programme
Apostles of a new truth
The fight against us.
Berlin.

Germany will be liberated all the same.

to murder millions of Jews with Cyclon B. What was new in *Mein Kampf* were such expressions as 'bacteria', 'germ-carriers', 'vampires', 'fission-fungi', and the claim that 'this planet would, as it did millions of years ago, speed through the ether devoid of man', if 'the Jew is victorious over the other peoples of this earth'.[116] The Jew 'is and remains the typical parasite, a sponger who, like a noxious germ, spreads rapidly wherever a favourable medium invites him to do so. The effect of his existence, too, resembles that of a sponger: wherever he appears, the host nation dies out sooner or later'.[117]

In other respects, too, his ideas in *Mein Kampf* differed markedly from those he had propounded in 1918–1923.[118] In particular, he had

E.

Schlagwort
der Waldpflanze.

keine
Völkerwanderung
Rassenschande = Folge.

Waldbeere
Waldgrasse
Waldhimbeere
Waldkorb
Waldpflanze
Waldsprache

Der Spruch: Die Welt unter einen Hut.

zum Waldsprache ein Stop
die
Waldverbindung
Spitze

Niederzeichnung des gesamten Volkes unter
die Diktatur der Waldkorbe und ihre
Führer.
Ende.

Slogan

The World State
needs

Miscegenation
Race pollution = Consequence –
World Mush
World Press
World Literature
World Stock Exchange
World Culture
World Language

means: The World under one master
one step towards World domination
World revolution
means
Oppression of the whole earth under
the dictatorship of the World Stock Exchange and its
Masters,
Judah.

added the call for territorial expansion to his basic list of political demands, and continued to defend it right up to 1945, when he dictated his Political Testament and claimed that the war against Poland had been instigated by 'international Jewry', 'that international poisoner of all the peoples'.[119]

Thus while the notes Hitler wrote in 1921–1923 leave no one in any doubt as to what he meant by such utterances as 'Germany defend

8,)

Ein Männer der Verrat,

Und jetzt sind die Folgen [illegible]
[illegible] Versailles – Brüssel – Paris – London
[illegible]

Nun wenn aber zunächst Pflichtgefühl
[illegible]
[illegible]

Milchpreis.
Getreidepreis } Was sollten dagegen
getroffen?

Protest?

Nein

Todesstrafe

der Mord eines Schiebers!

Was ist aus Protesten unserer jetzigen
Friedensretter geworden?

Diese Allmächtigen und „Münchner
Post"

The Men of Treason.

And now the consequences of
Spa – Versailles – Brussels – Paris – London –
must be borne.

But it is everyone's duty to foil all
forms of usury, etc.

Rent usury.
Grain usury

What should be done to
stop it?

Protests?
No
The death sentence
The value of a profiteer's life
What good are the protests of our present-day
Jew-parties?

See Memmingen and 'Munich
Post'

yourself', 'Germany will be liberated', 'settling accounts with the brood of despoilers', 'death sentence' and 'stringing up',[120] at the time he jotted them down he had not yet developed his *Lebensraum* theory in which antisemitism went hand in hand with the call for territorial expansion through acts of war.[121] He still appealed for the creation of a 'social state' and called it as decisive an objective as the solution of the Jewish question.[122] Whenever he dealt with the war or its consequences, he did so solely in order to accuse the Jews of having deliberately exploited it in order to subdue the nation through price increases and so to weaken its struggle for existence.* At first he 'merely' wanted to expel all Jews from Germany, except for those who

* *Cf.* p. 237.

Wir verlangen Schutz vor den Juden.
nicht Bevorzugung besser sondern vorbeugen.

Rückschritt aufhalten
Juden
einen Juden.
denn Riga oder Riga i. J. heute

Nur die verlangen ist
Strafe nicht der Verbrecher
sondern der Verbrechen sind
die Geldsäcke

Wir wissen den Tag an dem wir
auch die Ruhen haben

Amerika soll uns sind ein Fingerzeig
Wir
Den sind die besten
moralischen Kräfte aus dem Volk nicht
die Landbevölkerung und das
gesamte Rußland Abneigung fühlt uns
der Lust einen Abscheu.

We demand protection from the Jews.
prevention rather than a fight.

String up the ringleaders.
all of them
Jews.

Then peace without victories, etc.

What we demand is
punishment not of the deceived
but of the deceivers and
financial backers

We long for the day when our
people begin to think

Let America give us
the cue.

then will the iron
remorseless truth show us the way
fratricidal war will cease and
Germany awakened
will settle accounts with
the brood of despoilers.

were to be sentenced to death for 'profiteering' or 'incitement'.*

Hitler, who during the night of 3 February, 1932, confessed to his 'old comrades' that it was only towards the end of his detention (1923–1924) that he had found the time to 'gain a clear understanding of various concepts',[123] had obviously come to the conclusion, even in Landsberg Fortress, that the satisfaction of Germany's territorial

* On 1 September, 1939, Hitler gave secret orders to Dr Karl Brandt, his personal physician, and to Reichs Führer Philip Bouhler 'to license certain German physicians to speed to their death all those who, in their judgment, were suffering from incurable diseases . . .' (Federal Archives, Coblenz, LXIV B 22 Folios 1–72, p. 11.) But while he refused to sanction euthanasia openly, he nevertheless signed a decree (published in *Reichsgesetzblatt* I, 4 December, 1941, p. 759) which stated, *inter alia*, that Poles and Jews in the newly incorporated eastern territories would be punished by death 'if they should commit any crime against a German . . . if they should sabotage or disobey or incite others to disobey any orders or decrees passed by the German authorities . . . The Reichs Governor of the incorporated eastern regions may, with the agreement of the

ambitions must go hand in hand with the eradication of the Jews[124] both in Germany and the conquered territories. The policies he pursued as Führer and Reichs Chancellor,[125] culminating in his declarations of war on Poland and the Soviet Union and the extermination decrees,[126] were thus so many consequences of the concepts he had 'clarified' during his detention.[127]

Thus, while before 1923 he had 'merely' blamed the Jews for the First World War and the German defeat of 1918, in *Mein Kampf* he regretted the fact that 'twelve or fifteen thousand . . . Hebrew corruptors of the people had not been exposed to poison gas'[128] at the beginning of the war. And on 30 January, 1939, six years after seizing power and seven months before the beginning of the Polish campaign, he declared: 'If international Jewish finance should once again succeed in Europe and outside to embroil the nations in a world war, the result will not be . . . a Jewish victory but the destruction of the Jewish race in Europe.'[129]

Reichs Ministry of Justice, order the trial by Court Martial of all Poles and Jews in the entire, or part of the, territory under his command who have committed serious offences against Germans or other crimes endangering the German work of reconstruction . . . The Courts Martial may either pass the death sentence or hand the criminals over to the secret police.' Forty-seven days later, on 20 January, 1942, at the so-called 'Wannsee Conference' held at Police Headquarters, 56–58, Great Wannsee, Berlin, the 'Final Solution of the Jewish Problem' was presented by SS-Obergruppenführer and Commander of the Security Police, Reinhard Heydrich. *Cf.* Kempner: *Eichmann und Komplizen* ('Eichmann and Accomplices').



Mussolini visiting Hitler in 1942 at Uman airstrip in the Ukraine.

Der politische Zusammenbruch und die deutsche Kunst?

Wissenschaft und staatliche Größe
ungetrennbar. / Geld und Wissenschaft

Besonnung, Deutschland's Bedeutung nur
Kulturell in
Preußen

bei „Gebildeten" bloß

beim Arbeiter — praktisch.

Von was lebt zunächst der Arbeiter?
Von - Kultur oder von Brot.

Deutschlands Entwicklung.

Vermehrung der Völker ↑ Vermehrung der Bodens

Nein.

Ist eine riesige Steigerung
der Lebensbedingungen möglich?
Nein.

Zwischen. entweder. { Kolonisation — Welthandel. Auswanderung.

oder Welthandel.

The political collapse and German art?

Science and political greatness
inseparable. Money and science

Claim that Germany's greatness purely
cultural and
intellectual
stupid in the 'educated' –

demoralizing in the worker

What does the worker live on?
On – culture or on bread.
German development.
Population increase implies increase in territory

No
Is it possible to increase
the yield of the land indefinitely?
No.

Colonization
World Trade
Two different things, either Emigration
or
World Trade

How 'unfinished' Hitler's political philosophy still was – despite his many claims to the contrary – appears with particular clarity from the above: instead of advocating territorial expansion and extermination as he was to do in 1924, he still wanted to solve the problem of Germany's population growth by colonization, trade expansion or emigration.

Arbeiter u. Friedensverträge 4.)

Deutsche Kolonisation: 1- 13 Jahrhundert -
ost - Ostmark -
Ostmarkpolitik
Germanisierung Mensch

Kolonisation des neuen deutschen Reiches
Konnte kein einheitliches
Bevölkerung nach werden
Neuen Kolonien -

Deutsche Auswanderung:
Warum. — Wo nach?
Wer wandert aus? / der Kapitalist oder Arbeiter.
Ist Los?

Letzter Mittel

Erhöhung des Handel und Industrie.
Deutsche = Wirtschaft = zur Volksernährung
nur möglich
bei
politischer Macht. = wie England.

Der internat. Sozialist

Workers and Peace Treaties
German Colonization: 8th–13th century
first – Eastern Province — is our
then North-Eastern Province — people up to it?

Prerequisite: Power

Colonization of the new German Reich
no longer capable of introducing broad
colonization policy.
Our Colonies –
German emigration:
sad. – for where to?
Who emigrates? — the 'capitalist'
or
the worker
Last resort — Their lot?

Food through Trade and Industry
Germans – economy for feeding the nation

only possible
through
political power. = see England
The Internat.[ional] Socialist

By the time he was writing *Mein Kampf*, Hitler had arrived at quite different conclusions: he had come to reject his old call for the restoration of the 1914 borders,* as an anachronistic and even criminal demand inasmuch as it meant going to the hated foreigner cap in hand. Instead, he now called for a politically[130] and economically[131] powerful sovereign German state, controlling vast new territories, an ambition he shared with many German militarists.

* Hitler, p. 736: 'The demand for the restoration of the frontiers of 1914 is a political absurdity of such proportions and consequences as to border on a crime.'

Arbeiter u. Friedensvertrag 5.)

Wer die politische Macht der Nation
beseitigt — beseitigt ihre Lebensmöglichkeit

Selbstentmannung
und
Lebensnotz-Gesetz

Der Kampf um die eigene Existenz ist berechtigt,

Existenz (der einzelnen) aber geringer als politische Macht der Nation
Politische Macht wenigstens Leben der einzelnen

daher kann der Kampf gegen die
politische Macht des Staates nur bestehen
in der Vernichtung ihrer Grundlage
der wirtschaftlichen Entwicklung
und der Kampf gegen die Weltwirtschaft
eines Staates ist nur möglich mit
Vernichtung seiner politischen Macht.

Englands Ziel } ~~Deutsch~~
Juden Ziel }
des Mittel
Friedensvertrag von Versailles

Workers and Peace Treaties
Whoever saps the political strength of the nation –
saps its lifeblood

Self-castration
and
Socialism – ridiculous

The struggle for self-survival is justified
But the survival of the individual demands political strength by the nation
Political strength ensures the life of the individual

Hence the enemy of the
state's political strength must aim
at the destruction of its driving force
its economic development,
and the fight against the economic strength
of a country is only possible after
the destruction of its political strength.
England's aim
Judah's aim
their means
the Treaty of Versailles

In 1924, Hitler ceased to look upon hunger as a source of 'mental confusion'[132] and came to consider it a stimulus to political action. Thus, much as he had previously castigated the Jews for using 'hunger as a political trick' to seize 'world control', so he now welcomed hunger and misery as means towards his own ends. Moreover, he had ceased to be afraid of overpopulation, but welcomed it as an impetus to territorial expansion.[133]

Der Hunger als Macht –
(Rußland.)

Größte Weltmacht (Göttin der Not.
Völkerwanderung bis ins Herz Deutschland.

Not als Hunger

kann wirken
erschütternd — — lähmend tötend.

degenerierend
1. körperlich — Unterernährung
Rachitis — bis Grippe

2. geistig — Beispiel
Deutsche Revolution
in ihren
Begleiterscheinungen.

Geschwächte Körper – verwirrte Geister.

Ist die Not eine natürliche?
kann sein, — (Hilfsmittel)
(mißt) verändern und begrenzend –

Konnte eine Hungersnot sein, wenn es genug
gibt, wo der ein Interesse an ihrem Folgen hat.

Hunger as Power
(Russia.)

Greatest world power: the Goddess of Want.
Migration of the people until modern times – Germany.

Want as hunger
Stimulating paralysing deadening
degenerating
1. physically – Malnutrition
Rickets – to – Influenza
2. Intellectually Example
German Revolution
in its
side effects
weakened bodies confused minds.

Is scarcity a natural phenomenon?
possibly. (Bad harvests)
in that case generally transitory –
but might also be artificial, if someone
benefited from its effects.

It is difficult to tell to what extent Hitler's old antisemitic arguments were central to his new conception – he rarely acknowledged the sources of his ideas. What is certain, however, is that during his detention in Landsberg, he was told about the writings of Thomas Robert Malthus (died 1834), and quite especially about the *Essay on the Principle of Population*,* probably by Rudolf Hess, who also introduced him to his former teacher, General Karl Haushofer, the geo-politician.[134]

* However, Hitler stood Malthus on his head. While the great English economist had argued that the population has a universal tendency to outrun the means of subsistence, and is only prevented from doing so by such positive checks as war, famine and pestilence, and such preventive checks as late marriages accompanied by strict sexual continence, Hitler welcomed overpopulation as a spur to wars of territorial conquest.

... Juden entscheidet. 2.)

es ist möglich
Der Hunger als Kriegs mittel
Der Hunger als Mittel zum Zweck.
(England führt Kriege)
Amerika - Indien - Russen u. s. w.

Der Hunger unterstützt das Resultat
bei äußeren Kriegen. (trockenen Krieg)

Kampf von Kind gegen Staat.

Kampf um Weltherrschaft des
Judentums

führt: Revolutionierung der Völker
wird erreicht durch

Geistige Zerstörung.
Gedankenverwirrung

wird unterstützt
durch

Körperliche Degenerierung
wird erreicht
durch

Hunger in
seiner furchtbarsten Wirkung

Jewish fraud.

possibly
hunger a means to war

Hunger as a means to an end.

(England wages wars)
America – India – Boers etc.

Hunger abets the sword

In foreign wars. (Aryan struggle)

War of State against State.

Fight for world domination
by Jewry

means:
Revolutionization of nations.
obtained by

intellectual destruction.
Confusion of thought
is helped
by
physical degeneration
obtained
through

hunger in the
form of lasting 'price increases'.

'Hunger as a means to war', 'hunger as a means to an end', 'hunger abets the sword in foreign wars . . . [in] the war of state against state' – all these slogans show much more clearly than, for instance, the longest disquisitions in *Mein Kampf* how Hitler saw matters shortly after he first heard of Malthus's *Essay*.

Arbeiten z. Friedensvertrag. 67

Kann nur getroffen werden
durch politische Machtmittel

Voraussetzung ist politische Macht.

Voraussetzung ist: = Offensivkrieg.

Kann unser Volk d. deutsche Arbeiten
ein Friedensvertrag?

Leider nicht.

Brest-Litowsk vom Standpunkt: (Ringen selbst i. d. Krieg begann.
d. Vertrag
I. d. Politik:
II. d. Moral.
III. d. deutsche Volkes d. Arbeiters.

Lage der deutschen Friedenspolitik in Gegenwart.
1917–18.

Deutschland ohne Kolonien.

Brest Litowsk stellte sicherstellen: Deutsche Volksvermehrung
I. Boden
II Sicherung von Rohstoffen für Industrien u. Handel.

Workers and Peace Treaties

Can only be smashed
by political means
Prerequisite political determination
Prerequisite political understanding.

Do our people and the German worker know
the Peace Treaties?

Neither

Brest-Litovsk from the standpoint

The Treaty	I. of justice	Russia
	II. of morality	started
	III. of the German people of the worker	the War

Germany's future and present
1917–1918
Germany without Colonies
Brest-Litovsk was meant to ensure:
Supporting Germany with
I. land
II. raw materials for industry and trade*

* By the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk (3 March, 1918) between the Soviet Government and the Central Powers, Russia had to cede the Baltic states, Poland, Finland and the Ukraine. In return Germany recognized the Bolsheviks and granted them 'breathing space'.

7.

Arbeiter i. Friedensvertrage.

Als wurde den deutschen Arbeiter
„Brest-Litowsk" angezeigt.

Und Versailles,
der Waffenstillstand:
„ungefähr der Frieden".

Versailles und Deutschlands Weltanschauung und Existenz.

1.) Verschuldet und verschuldet die deutsche Anschauung des deutschen Volkes durch Kunde:
von: Land — Volk — Westpreußen.
(Posen.)

Deutsche Arbeit verlieh überzeugt.
dagegen sieht der Arbeiter in seinem Raum
und nicht der = Kapitalist
verschuldet durch Ablieferung von Rüstungsstoffen nicht
Ablieferung von Kiel Berlin

Verschuldet sich weiteren Kolonisten
Deutsche Kolonien.
Man nützen sie und verdrängt

Workers and Peace Treaties

How was 'Brest-Litovsk' represented
to the German worker?

And
Versailles
the Armistice:
monstrous peace

Versailles and German population increases and
survival.

1.) Prevents and worsens the food situation
of the German people by the robbery:

of: land – Eastern and Western Prussia
(Posen)

German territorial losses in general.

the worker and the small man suffer twice over.

and not the = Capitalist

Worse off because of forced fertiliser deliveries.
Deliveries of cattle Potassium

Prevents all further colonization

German Colonies*

Whom do they benefit and how?

* *Cf.* Hitler: pp. VIIIff.

Arbeiter und Friedensvertrag 8.)

2.) Durch Vernichtung unseres Welthandels und unserer Industrie.

Kohle. —— Eisen
(Kali für Industrie).

Ausbeutung unserer Leistungsfähigkeit für die Entente.

Kohlenteer — Schwefelsaures Ammoniak — Benzol
Farben — Arzneimittel.

30% aller Waren.
30% aller Maschinen. einschl. der Fabriken.

Die Wiedergutmachung:

wird nicht in „Gold" bezahlt sondern in Waren
nicht vom Kapitalisten sondern vom Arbeiter

— Endlose Arbeitszeit —
14 Stunden Tag.
Früh Abgabe — morgen — Nachtschicht

2.) through the destruction of our
foreign trade and our industry

Coal — Iron

(Potassium for industry)

Loss of Mines
Deliveries

Loss of Mines
Deliveries

Exploiting our
productive capacity
for the Entente.

Coal tar – Ammonium Sulphate – Benzol
Dyes – Drugs

30% of all goods.

30% of all machines. even in the factories.

Reparations:

paid not in 'money' but in goods

not by the capitalist but by the workers

– can never be paid in full –

14 hour day.

Today Utopia – tomorrow – Reality*

* Hitler was referring to Part VIII of the Treaty of Versailles signed on 28 June, 1919, by Herman Müller and Bell, the preamble to which (Article 231) stated: 'The Allied and Associated Governments affirm, and Germany accepts, the responsibility of Germany and her allies for causing all the loss and damage to which the Allied and Associated Governments and their nationals have been subjected as a consequence of the war imposed upon them by the aggression of Germany and her allies.'

Arbeiter i. Friedensvertrag. 9.

Verwüstung des Landes.

Russenschuld: Eisenbahn u.s.w.

die deutsche Handelsflotte.

Sachsen — Binnenschiffahrt

Verhinderung jedes Wiederaufbaues

Raub aller Kohlenschätze

aller Kolonien.

aller Rohstoffe.

aller Absatzgebiete

Deutschland verliert aller Kapital im Ausland.

Sachsen muß in großen Teilen im Ausland Sachen — u.s.w.

Ins Deutschtumkampf i. Silesien.

3.) Um uns wirksam zu wehren zu können

Verbot der deutschen Auswanderung.

Wenn trifft das alles? Arbeit.

Workers and Peace Treaties

Destruction of Trade.

Armistice: Railways etc.
the German Merchant Fleet
High sea – inland navigation

Prevention of their reconstruction

Pillage of all coal deposits
all colonies
all cables
all overseas possessions

Germany loses all her capital
abroad.

Does not consist of papers but of
plant rail etc.

In short Germany poor and helpless

3.) To keep us down more easily
prohibition of German emigration.

Who is hit by all this? The worker

Arbeiten i. Friedensvertrage. 10.)

Ende:
Vollständige Abrüstung der deutschen
Arbeitskraft.
1 Generation Sklaverei"
Pfui!

Um das zu erreichen müßte man
die geistige Macht unseres Volkes
vernichten.

Entwaffnung { Waffenstillstand
nur Mittel zum Zweck. { und fest.

zu Land. zur See. in Luft

~~Kriegsschiffe~~ Auslieferungsforderung

Und moralische
Entwaffnung.
Vernichtung des „Nationalgefühles"
„ Nationalstolzes.

Auslieferung (Kriegsverbrecher)

Das deutsche Volk soll auf Jahre in der Geschichte
der Kulturwelt verschwinden.

Workers and Peace Treaties

The object:
Complete enslavement of the German
labour force.

by
'internationalization'

To attain it the political strength
of our Nation
had to be destroyed.

Disarmament
only means
to an end

Armistice
And now.

on land. at sea. in the air

Army of Occupation

And moral
disarmament.
destruction of 'national sense'
of national pride
Extradition (War Criminals)

the German people are to cease
as a cultural nation.

11.

Und Wir.

Wollen den Vertrag brechen.

Widerstand auf Widerstand

Fordert mich Bekenntnis

Die moralische Kraft:

Das Wissen und Erkennen

Der Liebe-Übung an Recht und Möglich

Der Wille.

Das Ziel der Politik bestimmen.

Wenn Not der Welt auf unsern Willen

dringt

kann es wohl in unserer Zeit

in der der Politik Wille

wieder die Not zerbricht.

And We.

Are determined to break the Treaty.
Resistance and more resistance
Yorks* not Bethmen

the moral weapon:

Knowledge and understanding
Love – (Wagner)
Belief in justice and the future

the will.
The aim of the German Workers' Party

When no amount of misfortune
can deflect our determination
then comes the iron age
in which German determination
again puts an end to our misery.

* By 'York', Hitler was referring to Ludwig Yorck, Count of Wartenburg (1759–1830), who as Commander of the Prussian Auxiliary Corps in Napoleon's campaign against Russia signed a neutrality pact with Russia (Tauroggen, 1812). By 'Bethmen', Hitler was referring to Theobald von Bethmann-Hollweg (1856–1931), German Chancellor from 1907 to 1917, who, like Hitler, was friendly to England and hostile to Austria, and who was dismissed from office under pressure from the Army.

CHAPTER SEVEN

The 'Monumental History of Mankind'

In Vienna, the 'Phaeacian' city,* as Hitler called the despised capital of the land of his birth in 1924,[135] he liked to register as a 'writer', as we know from a registration dated 16 September, 1909.[136] In post-war Germany, too, he would often do the same.[137]

In Landsberg Fortress, his literary activities included the designing of several title pages for his *Vindication*, later to become *Mein Kampf*. No one can tell whether he borrowed that title from the mouthpiece of the Independent Social Democratic Party, or from Friedrich Wilhelm Foerster, a pacifist whom he often vilified[138] and who, in 1911, published a book entitled *Mein Kampf gegen das nihilistische und nationalsozialistische Deutschland* ('My struggle against the nihilistic and national-socialist Germany').

Although Hitler was a sick man when he left Landsberg, he had benefited greatly from his detention. In particular he did not return empty-handed to the National Socialist 'Movement' – whose store of ideas had previously consisted of only 'two words', namely Adolf Hitler (as Dr Adalbert Volck put it in January 1922 at the annual conference of the NSDAP[139]). In Landsberg he provided the NSDAP with a complete political philosophy of its own. How important this proved to be may be gathered from the fact that Alfred Rosenberg, the Party 'philosopher', was forced to confess during Hitler's detention that 'although most of the theoretical insights of a new synthesis have been perfected and elaborated, it is the heart of the National Socialist Movement which has remained . . . the decisive element'.[140]

* Possibly a pun on 'Fiaker' = Viennese hackney-carriage; Hitler was not a classical scholar.

It was also most fortunate for Hitler that, after his release from Landsberg,[141] he was not forced to lie low – as most people expected – but that, despite his deadly adventures of 1923, he was allowed to make a public come-back, at first with the blessing of the state.* That the Bavarian government nevertheless banned him from addressing public meetings three weeks later† and hence from taking part in the presidential election served him as an excuse to break his promise that the NSDAP would henceforth work by legal means only.‡ Of the many new ideas he had adopted during his 'university education at the state's expense', one of the most striking of all perhaps was that no ordinary mortal had the right to judge him. 'In long periods of humanity,' he wrote in *Mein Kampf*, 'it may happen that the politician is wedded to the planner. The more intimate the fusion, the greater the obstacles in the path of the politician. He no longer works for demands that will seem clear to every shopkeeper, but for aims that only the fewest can comprehend. Hence his life is torn by love and hate. The protest of the present which does not understand the man struggles with the recognition of posterity – for which he works. For the greater a man's works for the future the less the present can comprehend them . . .'[142]

Like so many 'world improvers' before and after him, Hitler, too, was convinced that he had discovered and grasped what historians and philosophers had sought for millennia – the 'eternal course of history'.[143] Since early on he came to see himself as a political genius,[144] as someone who had lifted the veil of history and discovered the final truth,[145] the draft for a 'monumental history of mankind' he wrote at the start of his political career[146] is of extraordinary importance.

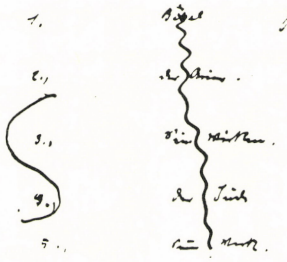
* Hitler, who had been sentenced to five years' detention, was released on 20 December, 1924, after having served less than one year. By 4 January, 1925, he was received by Heinrich Held, the Bavarian Prime Minister.

† The same ban was also passed in all the other German states. Bavaria did not lift it again until March 1927 (and some of the other states not until September 1928). Hitler used the interval to work on Volume II of *Mein Kampf*, which he dictated to his secretary, in 'Haus Wachenfeld' near Berchtesgaden.

‡ Six months later, the Bavarian Prime Minister could have read the following definition of Hitler's idea of legality (*Mein Kampf*, Vol I, 1939 edition, p. 379): 'The movement is anti-parliamentarian, and even its participation in a parliamentary institution can only imply activity for its destruction, for eliminating an institution which we must consider one of the gravest symptoms of mankind's decay.'



Adolf Hitler's design for the title of his *Germanic Revolution*, Federal Archives, Coblenz, NS 26/64.



I. Introduction

1. The Bible
2. The Aryan
3. His Works
4. The Jew
5. His Work

[3 illegible lines (ed.)]

1. The Bible – Monumental History of Mankind – 2. Viewpoints – Idealism – Materialism

Nothing without cause – History is made by men – 2 human types –
Workers and drones – Builders and destroyers–––Children of God and Men
confused and muddled – (Lord Disraeli) Basic Race Law –
1st consequence. Purification of the Bible – what of its spirit remains?
2nd consequence. Critical examination of the remainder –

. . . . . greater clarification
First people's history (based on) the race law –
Eternal course of History –
Nature's course from half-knowledge via instinct to clear understanding of its laws

[three lines crossed out]

I Unconscious [crossed out]
Consequences
Blind following of nature – Conscious [crossed out] obedience to its laws

Half knowledge equivalent to human arrogance – pride etc.
Stupidity but also weakness or cruelty
Arrogance – 'Man is Lord of Nature'
'He subdues Nature'
He is free.

Weakness of the half-baked
Nature is quite unbending, which means: Victory of the stronger whose strength or will
gives him a greater claim to victory.

Privilege through strength the basis of all Nature
The prerequisite of the world's existence.

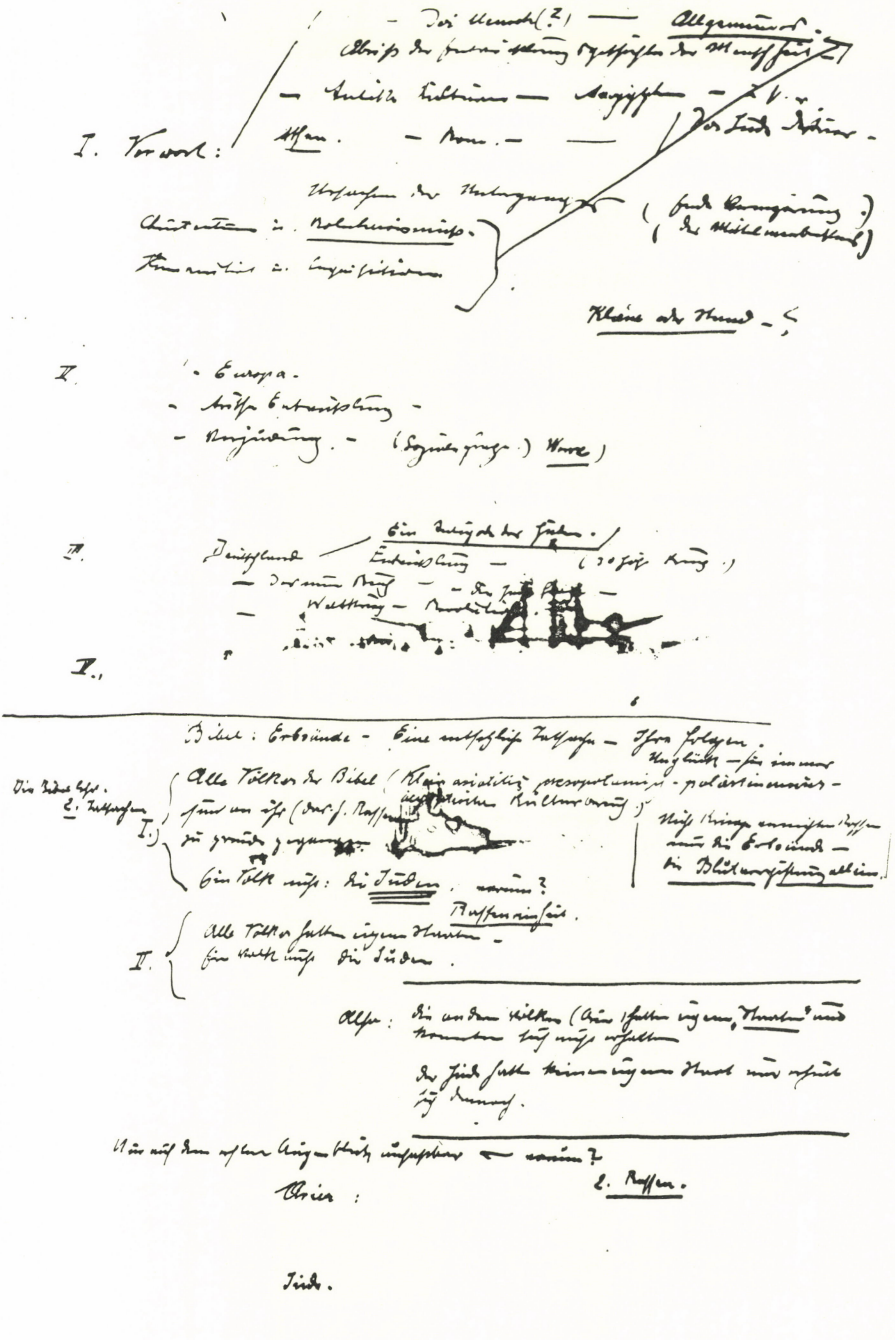
The man of genius in tune with nature does not try to test this law which also informs his own ideas about the world
but performs all his actions in accordance
with it.

The 'educated man', i.e. the man who has been spoon-fed with knowledge substitutes the idea of humanity and hence
becomes 'cruel' in the end.

Nature is never cruel
Cruelty is – delight in
pointless suffering
Useless during the struggle –

Racial purity the highest law.

Miscegenation with inferior types means lowering the level of the whole
[last word illegible]



Man (?) – General
Brief biogenetic history of mankind
– Ancient cultures – Egypt – etc.

I. Preface: Athens – Rome – ——— / The Jew The Aryan –

Causes of the Decline (Negrification of the Mediterranean)

Christianity and Bolshevism
Humanity and Inquisitors

Class or Caste?

II – Europe
– Aryan development
– Judaification – (Social question) goods)

A [illegible] of the Jews

III Germany's development – (30 Years' War.)

– The New Reich – [illegible]
World War – Revolution [illegible]

Bible: Original sin – A terrible fact – Its results.
Misery for ever

The Bible teaches
2. Facts
I.) All the nations in the Bible (cultures of Asia Minor, Mesopotamia, Palestine, Egypt)
have been destroyed
by it (i.e. by race . . .
One nation has escaped: the Jews. Why?

Not wars destroy races
only original sin –
only blood poisoning
Racial purity.

II.) All nations have their own states –
Except for the Jews.

This means: the other nations (Aryans) had their own 'states' and could not save themselves
the Jew had no state of his own and saved himself nevertheless.

Seems incomprehensible at first sight only – why?

Aryan: 2. Races

Jew.

What is remarkable about these notes is that they contain so many references to the Bible, a book to which Hitler paid scant attention in *Mein Kampf*. In his draft for a 'First history of nations based on the race law', he divided mankind into two conflicting sets: 'workers *vs* drones', 'builders *vs* destroyers' and 'children of God *vs* children of man', and expressed the view that the 'man of genius in tune with nature' could bend history to his will.

Twenty years later, when his career had begun to decline, he was forced to change his mind: 'The fact is that we are weak creatures and that there is a creative power. To deny it would be sheer stupidity.'[147] Later still, having sampled the bitter taste of failure,[148] man's impotence was driven home to him with even greater force. He now realized that 'true piety' alone could teach man to come to terms with his shortcomings.[149] Little had remained of the young firebrand determined to destroy the church with dynamite[150] and who was convinced that 'thinking' man could master the whole world.

It is worth noting that Hitler's contempt for the 'educated' was something he maintained throughout his later life.[151] This attitude, often misinterpreted by even his closest collaborators, for instance Albert Speer, as a sign of an inferiority complex,[152] first appeared after the end of the First World War, when he claimed the 'educated' had

failed to grasp the natural laws presiding over the struggle for existence. All of them had been 'spoonfed' on one-sided 'false knowledge' and were totally ignorant of the real life-and-death issues. This explains why Hitler so often scoffed at professional advice. 'The Führer's personality was such,' Hermann Göring said during the Nuremberg Trials, 'that it was unwise to proffer unsolicited advice . . . he brushed aside all suggestions and recommendations once he had made up his own mind.'[153] In 'some cases he simply told his experts what he had decided to do and asked them to supply the necessary facts and figures. The final decision was invariably made by . . . himself.'[154] And General Alfred Jodl, the Army Chief of Staff, had this to say: 'Hitler's knowledge and intellect, his rhetoric and will, always triumphed in all discussions.'[155] Field-Marshal Wilhelm Keitel, who saw a great deal of Hitler during the war, said that he 'knew so much about the organization, arms, leadership and equipment of every army and navy on earth, that it was impossible to fault him . . . Even when it came to simple everyday issues concerning the organization and equipment of the Wehrmacht and relevant matters, I was the pupil . . . not the teacher'.[156] Hitler was a past master at keeping experts in their place; he made his generals feel that they were 'mere' soldiers, and his industrialists that they were 'mere' businessmen, and that neither knew enough about the wider issues. As a result he remained the co-ordinator-in-chief, the man who collected all the relevant information and then issued the necessary orders.

Of course, at the beginning of his political career, he was considerably less arrogant, and still wrote: 'History is made by men . . . The man of genius in tune with nature . . . performs all his actions in accordance with this [the natural] law.' The belief that the humanitarian ideas of the 'spoonfed' and hence inadequate intellectuals were pernicious was something he never recanted. Thus *Mein Kampf* echoed the: 'Nature is never cruel. Cruelty is delight in pointless suffering', of the notes, with: 'As for humanitarianism, Moltke said years ago that in war it lies in the brevity of the operation, and that means that the most aggressive fighting technique is the most humane.'[157]

Hitler, who believed that he did not have to base his political actions and ideas on 'the practical reality of the moment'[158] and who boasted that he was not concerned to win the 'momentary sympathy of the great mob,[159] remained firmly convinced from the beginning

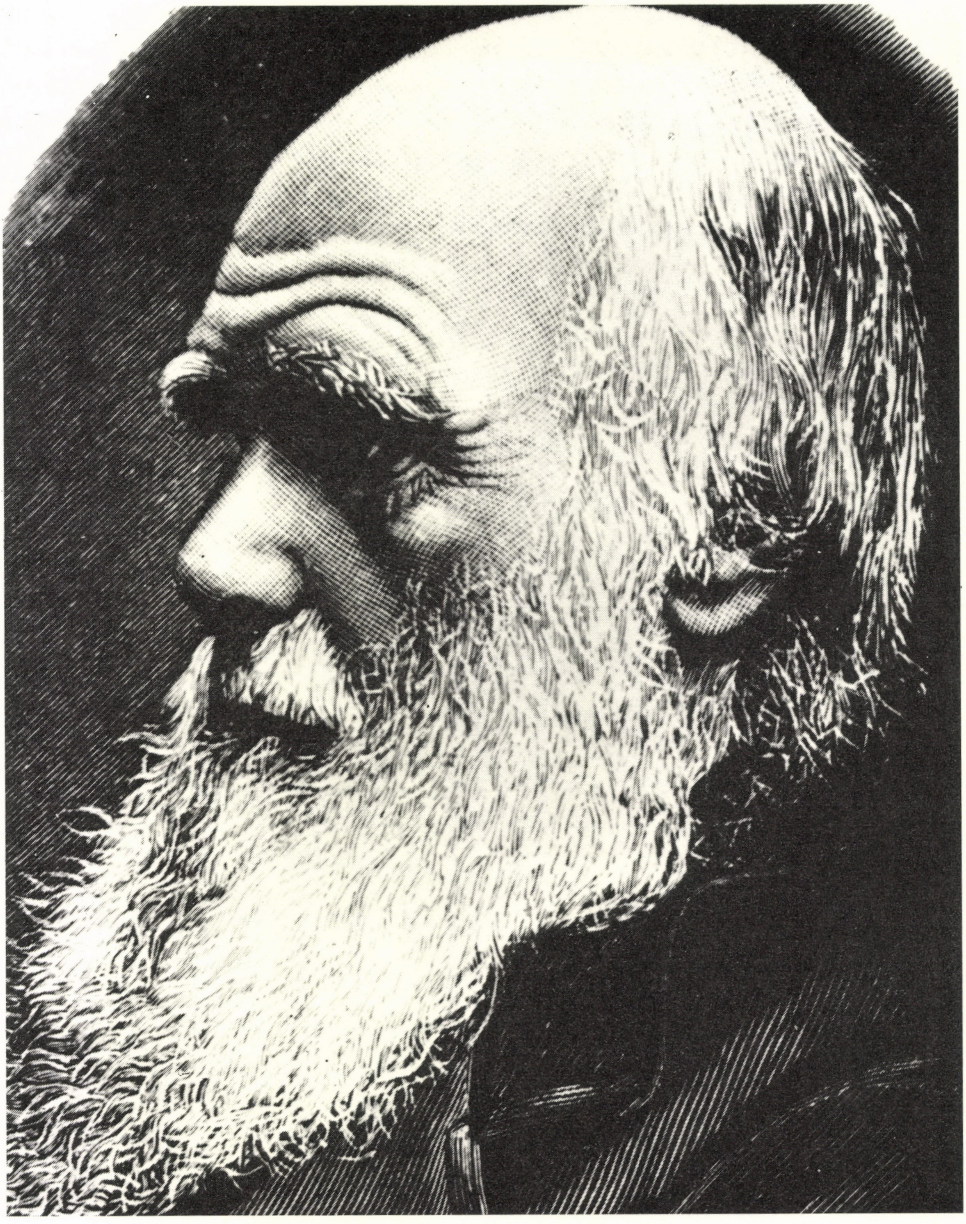
of his political career until its climax that he could safely disregard political expediency. Thus, in the summer of 1919, he accused his countrymen of trying to bolster their broken national pride with neurotic excuses instead of taking the blame squarely on themselves.[160] He attacked the press for preferring mental cowardice to truth in dealing with the political situation,[161] and blamed the political parties for welcoming mistakes for the party-political advantages it gave them.[162] Again, while he attributed the emergence of the Independent Social Democratic Party (USPD) and the German Communist Party (KPD) to justifiable left-wing resentment,[163] he reproached the parties of the Right with criticizing 'present-day conditions' but praising 'everything that went before', 'blaming everything on one side', lacking 'iron logic'[164] and being afraid of 'getting to the bottom of things'[165].

In 1919 he became convinced that the worse the situation the better its propaganda value. 'Unlike so many others,' he said on 30 May, 1942, in a secret address to the Cadet Corps, 'I was firmly convinced that it [the defeat of 1918] did not put an end to the history of the German people unless the German people themselves were prepared to write off their entire future. That is why . . . I immediately threw myself into a struggle which reflected my firm conviction that . . . victory would go to the movement capable of raising up the German nation before the whole world.'[166] This was precisely the view he had taken during his detention in 1924, when, looking at the ruins of his party, he had to stand by while a host of rivals took the stage. It was in Landsberg that he not only drafted his *Mein Kampf* but also began to question a great many old ideas, including Bismarck's 'sacred' definition of politics as 'the art of the possible'. 'Never before', wrote his comrade and fellow-prisoner Hans Kallenbach, who was more familiar than most with Hitler's beliefs at the time, 'were the principles of our political philosophy given so simple and at the same time so broad a definition as they were during those hours. Rarely did the concepts of race and nation, blood and soil, spring to life so tangibly as they did on the Führer's lips.'[167]

While Hitler had previously excluded Bismarck from the list of politicians and statesmen who struck him as being 'inconsistent in thought and action',[168] he reproached him in *Mein Kampf* for having taken a somewhat 'modest view of politics in general'.[169] Bismarck's ineffectual successors who, according to the 'Monumental History',

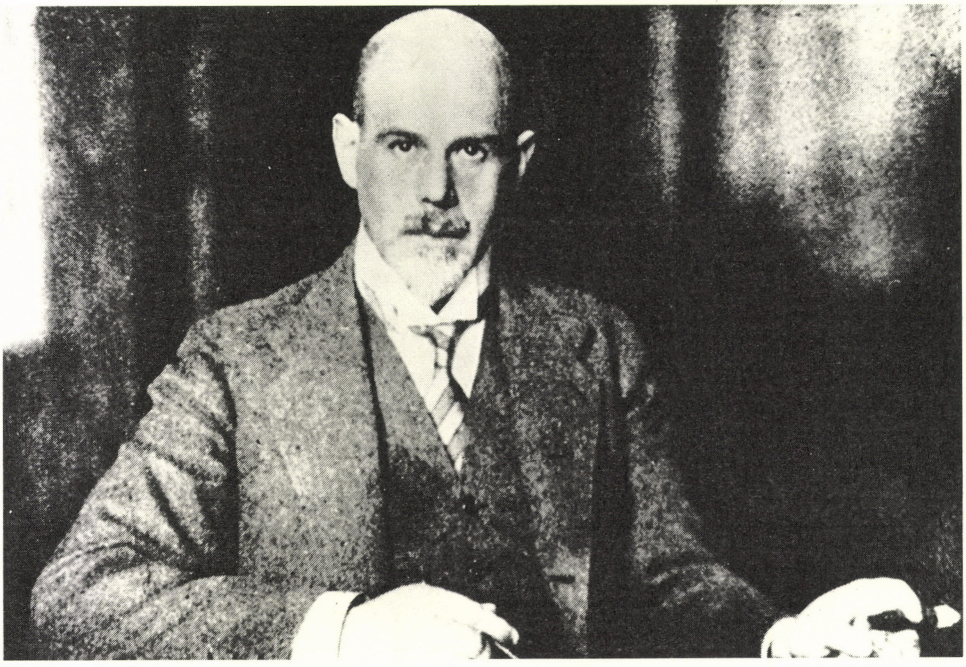


Otto von Bismarck, one of the few German statesmen who, at first, escaped Hitler's scorn.



Charles Darwin, one of Hitler's 'teachers'. Hitler readily adopted his idea of survival of the fittest, but insisted that man could not possibly have 'evolved from the simian state'.

had blighted German history during 'all of the past 30 years',[170] were let off more lightly in *Mein Kampf*, which merely claimed that they had vacillated in their home and foreign policies and that they had never taken a long-term view of their task.[171] Until 1922 he wrote numerous leading articles for the *Völkischer Beobachter*;[172] thereafter he also increasingly began to publish his speeches in the paper, and hence knew that the political ideas he was propagating at the time were not new.



Foreign Minister Walter Rathenau who was assassinated on 24 June, 1922, after constant calumnations on Hitler's part.



The victors of 1918: (left to right) Lloyd George, V. E. Orlando, Georges Clemenceau, Woodrow Wilson.

Einigkeit in Deutschland in der Ablehnung und Abgrenzung.

Lüttich — Frankfurter Zeitung
Berliner Tageblatt
Vossische Zeitung
u. v. a. — hat niemand

Kritik ohne bemerkbaren Erfolg.

Warum

Keine Kritik der Wirklichkeit wegen der Feigheit.

Feigheit im Denken bis zum Verrat.
(Hegel Strumpfgeblick.)

Parteikritik — Wichtiges nicht um seiner zu lösen
wenn eine Partei entweder herausgefordert

Parteikritik von Lüttich! Denkschrift — in
der Gründung einer Partei U.S.P. K.P.D. K.A.P.D. zum
Einleitung der Kritiker (Verstärkter Marxismus
gewesen ist!)

Parteikritik ein recht
Kritisiert Gegenstand oder sich.
Lebendes von seiner
Leben will Wirklichkeit nur eine Partei
sie setzt sich auf den Grund zu sehen.

Germany united in her resistance and dissatisfaction.

Except for Frankfurter Zeitung
Berliner Tageblatt
Münchner Post praises no one
etc.

Criticism without noticeable success?
Why
Criticism not [rooted in] truth but in cowardice.
Consistent cowardice of mind –
(Ostrich politics.)
Party criticism ———— Generally not to repair mistakes
but to scrape out party advantages.

Party criticism by the Left: reflected ———— in
the emergence of new parties U.S.P. K.P.D. KA.P.D. so as to
Capture the objectors
Intensified
Marxism
'not yet enough'

Party criticism by the Right
criticizes present-day conditions
praises everything that went before
and puts all the blame on one side
afraid to get right to the bottom.

Deutschland erwacht. — 2.)

Unterschied zw. geistigen Ursache und Wirkung.
z. B. Revolution { Ursache: allerlei Gründe —
Folge: Störung geistiger Einheit.

Größter Mangel der Weltkriegsbücher ist der
Fehlen jeder — scharfen Logik.

1) Unbewußtes Denken der Wirklichkeit
und Wirklichkeit, × und dementsprechendes
Handeln."

Die Weltgeschichte der ganzen letzten
30 Jahre zeigt bei den leitenden
Personen einen Mangel an
„folgerichtigen Denken und Handeln"
der erschreckend war.

1.) In der Behandlung weltpolitischer Probleme.

Weltgeschichte ~~Weltgeschichte~~ ohne
Weltpolitik und Weltmacht.

Germany awake. –

Fails to distinguish cause from effect.

e.g. Revolution — Cause of all misfortunes or Consequence of countless mistakes in the past.

The greatest failing of Right-wing critics is the complete lack of Iron Logic.

'Remorseless adherence to the truth and reality and appropriate action.'

German history during the past 30 years shows a terrifying lack of 'consistent thought and action' in the leading personalities.

1. In the treatment of foreign problems.

International trade – international competition – without an international policy or world power.

Hitler's bitter and often ironic attacks on the Right and on their alleged 'party politics',* especially after his release from Landsberg,[173] and the formulation of his 'new doctrine',[174] earned him the hostility of a number of nationalist parties and organizations, on whose meagre store of ideas he nevertheless continued to draw as he had done before.[175]

* *Cf. Mein Kampf*, p. 396: 'It is characteristic of these people that they rave about old Germanic heroism, about days of old, stone axes, spear and shield, but that they are the greatest cowards in reality . . . For the same people who brandish scholarly imitations of old German tin swords and wear a dressed bear skin with bull's horns over their bearded heads, preach . . . for the present nothing but struggle with intellectual weapons and take to their heels as soon as a communist lifts his blackjack.'

Deutschland voraus. 3.

explizite Programm —— Schaffung des „Friedens"
gemeinsam und offenes) statt Erhaltung unseres Gleichgewichts
Weltmacht
oder politisch } Politik und Bündnisgenossen.

Produkt dieser Einstellung = der Dreibund

---

zu 1.) Wir wollen keinen Präventivkrieg!
(Bismarck)
trotzdem die Verhältnisse zum Krieg mit
England u. Frankreich
treiben müssten.

---

zu 2.) Nach unserer Ansicht nun Bündnisgenossen
Wer kommt für Deutschland
allein in Betracht?
Rußland — warum?
Deutschland indifferent — Rußland angreift.

Hindernis: Österreich-Ungarn (Bismarck)

Rußland wird angegriffen.

Nur 2 Möglichkeiten: entweder — Rückversicherungs
Politik
oder
Bündnis Deutschlands
Österreich — Rüstung.

Germany awake.

Programme Maintaining the 'Peace'

International policies framed without us) instead of maintaining
our own existence

World Power or active policies and allies
passive

Product of this conception = the Triple Alliance

re 1.) We do not want a 'Preventive War'
(Bismarck)
although
the prevailing relations had to lead to a
break with
England and France.

re 2.) How does one judge one's allies

Which allies will matter to Germany
in the future?
Russia why?
Germany industrial Russia agrarian.
Obstacle: Austria-Hungary (Bismarck)
Russia is growing too big.

Only 2 possibilities. Either a ruthless
policy
or
cowardly retreat
Defence Rearmament

4.)

Deutschland wuchs.

Deutschland — Feind von allen
Neid / Attentat Bündnisse (1900–1904)
Hindernisse
wirtschaftliche Rüstungen

Folge d. Krieg — 1914.

England
Frankreich / gerüstet.
Russland

Während des Krieges

Ein- oder Ausfuhr.

Eine ganze Welt gegen einen Staat — gibt es
die
Ausführungen

folgen einer „Verständigung" für
England Frankreich
u. s. w.

Zusammenbruch.

Es fehlten unsere Gegner durch Hunger.

1.) der Mehl zum Brot (Essen) / Hindernisse in Kriegsfabrikation
2.) Kartoffeln Fleisch / Fette
3. Brot durch Ersatzstoffe durch unsere Feinde Ausgaben 1916 — 1917 — u. s. w.

Germany awake.

Germany – lacks all these
no
active will.
(1900–1904)
alliances
arms

Consequence the war – 1914
England
France armed
Russia

During the War
To be or not to be.
When the whole world against one country* – can there be
real understanding
Consequences of an 'understanding' for
England France
etc.
Collapse.

2) What caused our enemies to prevail was
1.) the will to victory (. . .)
2.) Gaining of new allies through
3.) Prospect of victory promised by our 'Peace Offers' 1916–1917 – etc.

Horror propaganda about war crimes confirmed by Germans Förster† etc.

'Altogether,' Hitler wrote in *Mein Kampf*,[176] 'I had to warn time and again against those populist wandering scholars whose positive accomplishment is always zero but whose conceit can scarcely be excelled. The young movement had and still has to guard against an influx of people whose sole recommendation generally lies in their declaration that they have been fighting for thirty, even forty years for the same idea.'[177]

* That Germany lacked arms in 1914 was one of the many spurious arguments Hitler was wont to repeat. He himself made sure that the world was ranged against one country during the Second World War.
† Friedrich Wilhelm Foerster.

5.)

Entstehungsursachen.

Nur zum friedensmäßigen Leben auch nur geeignet
Heute die Jugend zum Krieg, anstatt die
Jugend zum Frieden.

Gegenpolitisch
Alles fester des alten Regiments.

Innenpolitisch.

Kein Abbau des „Klassenproblems"
Demokratie und Sozialismus —
Marxismus

Nationalerziehung

Staatsform
Wünsche.

Weltpolitisch ohne Nationalgefühl Bruch
unmöglich.
(Siehe später)

Alles (Fehler begriffen Deutschland
Regierung und Volk.

Größter Fehler — die
Revolution.

Germany awake.

Those who so much as mention the chances of peace
lower the energy for war and awaken the
longing for Peace.

In foreign politics
Everything the fault of the old regime

At home

No mitigation of the – class problem.
Democracy and Socialism –

Marxism — Profiteering
National education — Usury.

World policy impossible without national pride

(As witness today)

Everything (due to logical errors by the
government and the nation.

Greatest error – the
Revolution

These notes show clearly that, early on in his career, Hitler was much more concerned with propaganda and tactical problems than with theoretical questions. Thus he consistently violated the 25-point programme of the Nazi Party, which, though presented by him on 20 February, 1920, had been drawn up without his direct help.[178] From the very outset, and quite openly after August 1921, he made sure that the Party's programme took second place to the dictates of its 'Führer'.

(6.)

Deutschland erwacht.

Max von Baden — Ludendorff entlassen (Einverständnis des Auslands.)

~~Waffenstillstand sind~~

Wilson.

Er beginnt die Zeit in der das ganze Deutsche Volk
mit aller möglicher Narrheit

Periode des Schlagworts, bis heute.

z. Beispl. Simons — im Coaster } sein Beispiel.

Haag.
Versailles.
Haag.
Paris
London.

Der Rhein } bis New Yorker Staats Zeitung.

Simons in London.

Ist das alles

Unlogisch.

Germany awake

Max von Baden. – Dismissal of Ludendorff (impression on
outside world.)
Wilson.

And so begins the period in which the German people
trust in just
anything.
The period of slogans
e.g.
Simons – and Gessler* An
example.

Spa.
Versailles. Yes No
Spa. see *New Yorker Staats Zeitung.*
Paris. Simons in London.
London. Is all this
Illogical.

After 1924 he ignored the programme completely, with the result that those of his followers who believed in, say, its socialist promises felt compelled to follow Otto Strasser's lead and leave the Nazi Party. Only then did Hitler come to appreciate the importance of the old programme and to pay lip-service to it. But though he was a master of propaganda, he often misjudged its effects, especially on the world outside. The results became increasingly disastrous as more power became concentrated in his hands—during the Second World War, for instance, when he appointed himself Commander-in-Chief of the German Army, he would often devise strategies for their propaganda effects alone, with disastrous consequences in the field.

* It is unclear whom Hitler meant by 'Gessler', though he was probably referring to the villain of Schiller's *William Tell.*

Deutschland wenn.

7..

es muß unterschieden werden
zwischen Volk
Regierung

Regierung und Verfassung.

für unser Volk eine die ganze Fülle
Freiheit Wohlstand und Glückseligkeit

für die ganze Verfassung ist ein jedes
Maß der Sicherung und
Größtes Bedürfnis.

Statt von Gesetzgebung der Verfassung
welche

von Gesetzgebung verfassunggebenden
Versammlung.

Innere Logik.

vor dem Krieg.
Nach dem Krieg.
Nach dem Krieg.

Germany awake
A distinction must be made
between nation and
government

statesmen and wire-pullers.

To our people all present-day
politics is madness and stupidity

to the real wire-pullers it is
cold
commonsense –

Based not on the welfare of our people
but on its
destruction.

Satanic logic.

Before the War –
During the War –
After the War –

Here Hitler repeats his perennial attacks on the 'wire-pullers', to whom, remarkably enough, he still does not refer as Jews.

Deutschland erwacht. — 8.)

Einziges Ziel unserer Bestrebung.

Jetzige Lage.

Oberschlesien.

trotz Abstimmung gewiß. —
und Wir.

Wiederherstellung Deutschlands.
zu ihr Vorbedingung.

Aussichten in Mittel Deutschland.

Entwicklung wie in { E. W. / K. P. D.

Revolution als Mittel zur Entscheidung.
der Nationen.

Rußland stellt seine Kraft.

Wie die internationale Börse die

Diktatoren von Rußland

Hörsing – Severing i. Schutzhaft.

Entente.

Germany awake –
Eternal aim our Destruction.

present-day position.

Upper Silesia

Polish despite the Referendum
and We.

Crippling Germany.

to that end.

Riots in Central Germany
Disarming of
E.W.*
K.P.D.

Revolution as a means of disarming
the nation.
Russia not interested.
Only the international Stock Exchange, the
dictator of Russia.

Hörsing – Severing and the Security Police.

Entente.

The referendum in Upper Silesia was held on 20 March, 1921, when 60% of the votes were cast for Germany. The Allied Supreme Council nevertheless assigned the most important industrial area, including Pless, Myslowitz, Kattowitz, Königshutte, Tarnowitz, Rybnik and Lublinitz, to Poland. On this occasion, too, Hitler refused to round on Russia by blaming her for the Communist riots in Central Germany. Instead he blamed the 'international Stock Exchange, that dictator of Russia'.

* Einwohner Wehren = Home Guards.

Deutschland erwache. 9.)

Juden, als Feinde eines Feindes.
(Münchner Zeitung)
Der Hund im Hund.

Kommt mit Leben und Tod.

Wo bleibt da die Logik von Rasse?
Verwesen? zwischen Halten.
H. S.

Heutige Kunst gegen Judentum – Franzosen
Italien Rassen
gegen Pole
i. d. n.

Deutsch gegen deutsch.
nur nicht
gegen Juden.

„Nur 35 Prozent eine 200 Krankheit
sind tod."

Wenn das Juden einen
Nobelpreis
Kommt. — Ungarn

Germany awake

Jew as carrier and agitator.
(Münchner Zeitung)
the state within the state.

Life and death struggle.

And where is the logic of the Right?

Gentility – ? reserve, etc.

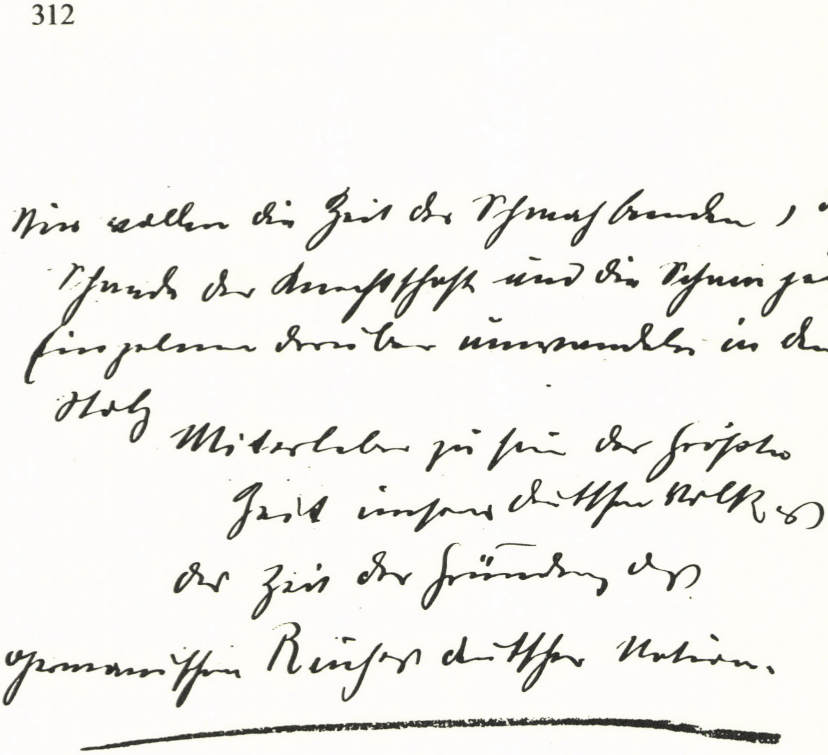
Bloody struggle against the English – the French
the Italians – the Russians
against the Poles
etc.

Germans against Germans
but never
against Jews.

'Only 35 policemen and 200 Communists
killed.'

Had they been Jews
world boycott
Kronstadt – Hungary

Eventually, Hitler turned against his favourite scapegoats, the Jews. His slogan 'Germans against Germans but never against Jews' was not just part of his oratorical stock-in-trade but the cornerstone of his 'political philosophy'. This may explain why he never fought shy of twisting the facts until they suited his antisemitic views. In February 1933, for instance, when Dr Meissner, von Hindenburg's Secretary of



State, asked him, on the President's orders, to comment on a complaint lodged by a Jewish woman, Hitler scribbled the following 'official comment' at the bottom of the letter:

'This lady's allegation
is a lie! Of course
there had never been the slightest incitement
to a progrom! H.'*

* Quoted in K. D. Bracher: *Adolf Hitler*, 1964, p. 64. As late as 1933, Hitler still failed to spell pogrom correctly (*cf.* p. 215).

We shall put an end to the age of our humiliation,* to the
blot of slavery and change the shame of every
individual into

pride

at having participated in the greatest
age of the German people
the age of the rise of the
Germanic Reich of the German nation.

Though Hitler rarely wrote such full notes, most of his jottings are ample enough for the reconstruction of many of his early speeches of which there is no record other than the inadequate and rather unreliable reports by Bavarian Army delegates (V-men). These reports mention the sex of various members of the audience,† their occupation, the main subjects broached by the speakers, and sometimes a few of Hitler's more flowery turns of phrase. 'The meeting was attended by civilians and soldiers, by people from every walk of life and from every party,'‡ a V-man reported of one Hitler meeting, and in another report: 'The hall was packed. A man who called Herr Hitler an ape was calmly thrown out of the hall.'§

* 'Our humiliation' and 'the blot of slavery' were thought to be two unavoidable consequences of the Treaty of Versailles, whose terms most Germans felt were undeservedly harsh. Hitler who, at the beginning of the twenties, was in the habit of carrying a copy of the Treaty on his person, was able to take full advantage of their sense of justice.

† See, for instance, the V-man report dated 20 September, 1920, BHStA, Munich, Div. II, Group Commando 4, Vol. 46/8.

‡ V-man report of 10 December, 1919, BHStA, Munich, Div. II, Group Commando 4, Vol. 46/6.

§ V-man report of 28 August, 1920, BHStA, Munich, Div. II, Group Commando 4, Vol. 46/8.

1.)

Vaterland oder Kolonie.

Weltgeschichte.

Vorgeschichte von 1806 – Opferwendige innerpolitische Umstellung

Der Zusammenbruch

Jena 1813. (Flugschrift.)

Loslösung der Völker jämmerlich:

(

Innere moralische Zersetzung
(Franzosen.)
Mode.
Dichtung u. Kunst
Der „Salon".

Tarnte i. Genoch.

Schulenberg: „Der König hat sein Territorium verloren
Jetzt ist Pflicht des Bürgers erste
Pflicht.

Minister Graf Hoym in Schlesien

~~Der preußische Geist.~~

~~Chamberlain~~

Fatherland or colony.
World history
Precedent of 1806 – Vacillating, indecisive
leadership
The collapse

Gentz* 1819. – (Pamphlet)

Attitude of the nation deplorable:
Moral collapse within
(aping the French)
Fashion
Poetry and Art
The 'Salon'

Civil servants and generals.
Schulenberg. 'The King has lost a Battalion,
So calm is the citizen's first
duty.

Minister Graf Hoym in Silesia

* By 'Gentz' Hitler referred to Friedrich von Gentz (1764–1832), who sided with Metternich against Prussia's demands.

2.)

Vol. de Klonie.

Wer hat nun Deutschland befreit? 2

1813

Nicht die Thaer der Demuthvoll stumpfen
sondern die Tapfren Thiele.

Kein Simons – Niebuhr – Eichhorn –
Rothmund i. V. d.
sondern die
Blücher, Scharnhorst – York v. Gneisenau –

Vor Brief des Clausewitz in einem Flugblatt
niederlegt:
Clausewitz – Tapfenbriefe.

Und Jahn.
Schlechte Zeit – schlechte Not – schlechter Geist.
oder besser
Schlechter Geist – schlechte Not – schlechte Zeit.

Der Christ Geist.

die Christgläubigkeit
Motherland.

Nation or Colony

Who liberated Germany?

1813

Not the host of the meek
but the hardheads.

Not the Simons-Wirts-Erzbergers –
Rathenaus etc.
but the
Blüchers, Scharnhorsts, Yorks and Gneisenaus
The spirit that Clausewitz expressed
in a pamphlet:
Clausewitz's *Bekenntnis**

And today.
Same situation – same misery – same spirit
or rather
Same spirit – same misery – same situation

the same spirit

Indifference
Fatherland.

* Hitler began to study the writings of Karl von Clausewitz (not only *Bekenntnisse* (Confessions) but also *On War* during his first stay in Munich (1913–1914). In 1934, and repeatedly after 1941, he declared that he had not only read but made a deep study of Clausewitz. See Maser: *Adolf Hitler*, pp. 166, 196, 199, 205, 241, 242, 243, 279, 376, 379, 384, 385, 388, 417, 465, 469, 470, 485 and 486.

3.

Nationalstolz. — Ich bin ein deutscher.
Ursprünglichkeit auf alles nur nicht auf das
Deutsche sein Stil.

Gleichgültigkeit den Mit-Volksgenossen
gegenüber.

Wir waren nicht ein Volk von Leiden.

Gleichgültigkeit
Leichtsinn Folge der vom Leben.

Der Tode als Staatsbürger. —
Der Deutsche als Soldat II Klasse Rangord.

Marschall und Obergefreiter.

Adel der Feind
Neid der Deutsche.

Gleichgültigkeit der geistigen Entwicklung
gegenüber.
Der Deutsche Arbeiter Adel in Jena.

Gleichgültigkeit gegenüber dem Staat
Leiden
Kriegsgewinnler — Rücksichtslosigkeit.
Leiden ist das Glück in allen
Staat im Leben.

National Pride. – I am a German
Pride in everything except our
common blood.

Indifference towards one's fellow German.

We were not a nation of brothers.
Indifference
on the Right Result: those of the Left

The Jew as citizen
the German as a second-class one.

Franchise and military service

First the Jew
then the German
Indifference to personal
existence.
the German worker
Abbe in Jena*

Indifference to the State
on the Right on the Left
War profiteers – State demolishers
Neither cares in what
state they live.†

* Ernst Abbe (1840–1905), inventor of numerous optical instruments; extended the Carl Zeiss optical workshops in Jena.
† *Cf.* Hitler's 'Expert opinion on the Jews', pp. 213ff.

mangelnder Nationalstolz —

Folgt
Kriechertum

Wilson
Spuckter im Schinkund. —

Verrat —

Einzelne Wünsche
müssen zurücktreten.

Einheitliche Hoffnungen

Wünsche einzelner Volksteile
zu werden beschränken.

Kultur u.
Solidarität

Können und nicht zugrunde richten sollen

Ein großes Volk kann überhaupt
nicht zugrunde gehen.

Die sogenannte Ehrfurcht.

Der Ehrgeiz stiftet Ehe.

In der Ehe wirken.

Ruhe und Besonnenheit.

lack of national pride –

consequence
servility
Wilson
French in the Rhineland. –
Treachery

Credulous stupidity
Have to show good will.

Childish hopes

They must realize culture and
solidarity
They cannot destroy us
A great nation can never
be destroyed.

So-called cleverness.*

The clever man adapts himself.
Working behind the scenes
Calm and reflection.

* See pp. 282ff, and especially p. 288.

5.)

Verborgene Liebe zum Volk.

Parlamentarier und Volksheld.

Lasse die Machthaber oder
Fürstenerniedrigung.

Wer wird siegen.
die Wahrheit.

Wie aber ist die Wahrheit über unser Volk?

Ich sage mich los von der Leichtsinn
mit dem man das Schicksal unseres
Volkes dem Wahn
verschenkt.

Wir haben das Vaterland geschmäht
Wir haben es verloren
Deutschland als Kolonie.

Hypocritical love of the people

Parliamentarians and the will of the people*

Lessons of world history or
newspaper opinion

What will win.
the truth.

But what is the truth about our
people?

I denounce the levity
with which the fate of our
nation is being kept from
the people.

We have defamed the Fatherland
We have lost it
Germany as a colony.

* *Cf.* Hitler, pp. 57, 80, 81, 83, 84, 85, 91, 92, 262, 347 and 659.

6.)

1.) Nicht mehr Herr sondern Knecht.
Wer ist Deutschlands Souverain

Kommission ——— Einschränkung der Regierung.
(Kontrollorgan)
über.

2.) Verfassung (Rund d. Hess Länder)

3.) Nationalwirtschaft. — Einführungen
Kohle. — Öle — Kali. —
Schiffs — Luftschiffe — Maschinen — Chemikalien
ien — Vi...
Luftschiffahrt

4.) Finanzlage. —
Finanzhoheit der Alliierten Kommission
Niederzeitmachung

5.) Generalstreik.
bestimmt die Forderungen der Alliierten

1.) No longer master but slave.
Who is Germany's Sovereign

[Allied] Commission
(Real Power)

Reichstag or
Government
(Executive organ)

on

1.) Constitution (Pillage of German lands

2.) The Army.

3.) The Economy – Deliveries*
Coal – Iron – Potassium –
Ships – Building materials – Machines – Chemicals

Animals – etc.
Aviation

4.) Financial sovereignty of the Allied Commission
Reparations

5.) Tax policy
based on Allied demands.

* *Cf.* p. 335.

7.

6.) Äußere Politik.

Bündnis unsicher.
Völkerbund.
Ohne Gebiet rechts — im Londoner Vertrag

Alles außer Friedensvertrag

Folge: Unerträgliche Not.
Man gönnt die alles. — Der Volk
in seiner Arbeitskraft.
Folge Hemmung (Milch)

2.) Wir sind kein geschlossenes Volk
mehr.
Norden und Deutsche.

Die nationale Entscheidung.

Selbstbestimmung. Saarland — Alle Deutschen
Unsere Lieben

Leipzig

6.) Foreign policy
no alliances permitted.
League of Nations.
No sovereign rights – in commercial treaties
All because of Peace Treaty
Result: Unspeakable misery
Who pays for it all – the nation
its labour force
result: price increases (milk)

2.) We are no longer a nation with
equal rights
Negroes and Germans.

National degradation.
Confession of guilt. Colours – The old Army
Our Leaders
Leipzig*

* By 'Leipzig' Hitler was referring to the Allied demand for a trial of German war criminals before the High Court in Leipzig. Hitler conveniently forgot that the German Government, all political parties (including the Communists) and the great majority of the German people were strongly opposed to the extradition of the 800 or so war criminals demanded by the Allies. He also 'overlooked' the fact that the German Government consistently refused to oblige the victors with the admission of guilt they demanded, and that the Chancellor made the following declaration: 'We cannot stress strongly enough that we are unable to accept or sign Article 231 of the Peace Treaty which calls on Germany to confess that she bears sole responsibility for the war. Similarly no German can with honour and dignity accept and implement Articles 227–230, by which Germany is expected to extradite members of the German nation . . . for trial.' (Quoted from P. Rassinier *Was ist Wahrheit?* (What is truth?), Leoni, 1963, p. 199.) Baron von Lersner, the German representative at the Paris Peace Commission, refused on 2 February, 1920, to pass on to his Government the list of wanted war criminals handed to him by Millerand, and declared that he would be guilty of collaboration if he did.

8)

Oberschlesien. und Rheinprovinz
Konvikte

Wenn nichts dazwischen kommt.

Kein nationaldeutsches Fühlen
kein nationales Recht,

Sieben Fühlen in Deutschland.
der Jude als Feind im Staat.
der Jude im antisemitischen Staat.
Fürsten treiben. einig (Finanz Presse)
Jetzt Schwierigkeiten der Presse.

I.) der Jude Jehova
II.) der Juden Juda der Bürgerkrieg
III. der Demokratische Jude (Rothschilden)
IV der Diktator. Rothschilden

Das Parlament kein Machtmittel
die Presse ein Mittel ein Instrument
das Volk ein Material.

Upper Silesia and the Reich Government
Comedy

Why did all this have to
happen

No nationally conscious leadership
No nationally conscious people.

Jewish leadership in Germany
the Jew as a state within the state
the Jew in the autocratic state
First lackeys of the princes (humanistic period)
Now lickspittles of the nation

I.) the Jew at Court
II.) the humanitarian Jew of the bourgeoisie
III.) the democratic Jew (Rathenau)
IV.) the dictator. Russia
Parliament his workshop

The Press and the Freemasons his instruments
The nation his material.

9.7

der Parlamentarismus als
Lenk- und Hebel.

Erhaltung durch der Parlamentarismus
unmöglich

Änderung der Grundlagen

Das Prinzip einer neuen
Bewegung -

die D. A. P.

Minorität nicht Majorität muss
Weltgeschichte.
Nicht Mehrheit entscheidet.
Nicht Zahlen Diktatur
sondern
Diktatur der Genies.
F. Rom.

Heute stehen wir für das Apostel.
Ein neues Ziel wollen wir hoffen
und hoffen dass die wir sich sagen müssen
Ich sage mich los
Ich bekenne dass ich ein Deutscher bin.

Parliamentarianism as
vocation and trade*
Salvation through Parliament
impossible

Changing the foundations
the programme of a new
Movement –
the D.A.P.
Minority not majority makes
world history.
Not the majority will save Germany.
Not the dictatorship of the Jews
but
the dictatorship of genius
See Rome

Today we take our stand as apostles

We aim to build a new age
and hope, that whoever now declares
I must make a clean break
will also declare I am a German.

* *Cf.* p. 323.

5.

Lloyd George i Amerika als Stimmen gegen

Woodrow Wilson.

Der Weltbetrug in seiner scheußlichsten Form.

1. Gegen den Imperialismus -
2. " gegen den Militarismus -
3. " gegen den Kaiserismus -
4. " für die Demokratie
5. " für die allgemeine Abrüstung
6. " für die Völker-Versöhnung
" den Weltfrieden auf ewig

für den Völkerbund

" das Selbstbestimmungsrecht der Völker

n. J. o. i. J. o.

der war alles nichts

(Ganz unwahr.)

nichts weil:

1. die Kriegserklärung der Entente selber am gemeinsamen an.

Rußland - Rumänien - Serbien.

Fliegen Tank ins Gas

Alexander weil

Lloyd George and Clemenceau mere bunglers
compared with
Woodrow Wilson
World deception growing apace.
especially

1. Against imperialism
2. Against militarism
3. Against kaiserism
4. for democracy
5. for general disarmament
6. for international harmony
   for eternal world peace
   for the League of Nations
   for the right of national self-determination
   etc. etc.
   all of it repulsive
   (totally un-Aryan)
   repulsive because:

I. the conduct of the war by the Entente was
cruel in the extreme.
Russia – Rumania – Battle of the Somme
Planes tanks and gas

4.)

erstreckt sich bis aber nicht die
bis die Landstadt um Hüsche anmittelbar
mit einer innerste Bühlstadt.

Deutschland muß Abrüstung eintreten.
Der Waffenstillstand. stets durzuhalten
Verbindung zum guten finden der
Entscheidung und Verständigung

1. Besetzung Deutsche Gebiete - (d. Rhein.)
2. Demobilmachung.
3.) Abrüstung. { 30 000 U. B
5 000 Kanonen
3.000 Minen werfer. i. f. a.
2.010 Flugzeuge

4.) zu Va. { U. Boote. 6.
Hochseeflotte.

5. Verkehr. — { 150 000 Wagons.
5 000 Lokomotiven
10.000 Lastkraftwagen

6 Handelsflotte. { Deutsche Handelsflotte.

7.. Gefangene.

Der Friedensvertrag

it all became horribly repulsive
when Philistinism and hypocrisy were married
to unrivalled brutality
Germany must change the Constitution.
Armistice instead of capitulation
Prerequisite of a decent peace, of
reconciliation and understanding.

1. Occupation of German territory (the Rhine)
2. Demobilization
3. Disarmament — 30,000 machine guns
5,000 field guns
3,000 mine throwers etc.
2,000 aeroplanes

4. At sea — U-boats — 6.
High Sea Fleet

5. Traffic — 150,000 carriages
5,000 locomotives
10,000 lorries

6. Merchant Fleet — German Merchant Fleet

7. Prisoners

The Peace Treaty

5.1

Der Friedensvertrag
von Versailles
vom
Rechtsstandpunkt – Sozialen und britischer Gerechtigkeit.

die große Frage.

Was bezweckt er ???

Die Frucht ist die Abrechnung Deutschlands
für Belgien der übernommenen Kapitale
die Wiederherstellung unserer Welt-
geltung in internationalen Absatzgebieten.

Mittel

die Beseitigung der deutschen Gebietshoheit
die Enteignung des deutschen Besitzes.

Ziel.

Was war der Zweck der ganzen Friedensarbeit und
Kriegsvorbereitung während der Dauer
der Hungerblockade

Deutschland sich zu machen

zur

Kolonie von Feindes Gnaden.

The Peace Treaty
a mixture
of
sanctimoniousness – derision and brutality

the great question
What is its object???
Its object is to convert Germany
into a colony of international capitalism
the softening up of our nation
for international slave labour
in short
the enslavement of the German labour force
the expropriation of the German soil.

because
What was the object of all the hypocrisy and
the propaganda lies during the war
of the hunger blockade
To soften Germany up
for
Revolution
by the grace of Judah.

(61)

Zweck des Friedensvertrages
ist:
Deutschland nicht zu machen zum
Belgien oder besser
für die Friedensstaaten.

Dazu gehört eine Umformung
Gesinnung unseres Volkes
und Deutschlands

1. die ideelle. eine geistige Umwandlung unseres Volkes.

2.) die rein materielle.

2.) die allgemein politische.

Object of the Peace Treaty
is
to soften Germany up for
Bolshevism or rather
for Jewish dictatorship

This calls for the triple
destruction of our people
and of Germany

1. the purely spiritual destruction of our people.
2. the general political [destruction].
3. the purely material [destruction].

7.

Geistige: / Schuldfrage am Kriege
Auslieferung
Deutsche Verfassung —
Ablieferung deutscher technischer Kunstwerke
(Änderung deutscher Geschichte.)
Strafe Pfand.
Grund Besetzung Deutschl. bis Arbeit.
Deutschland erkennt formell an.
Fremde Flagge in Deutschl. und die
fremden Flagge wird gestraft.
Vernichtung der deutschen Flotte.

geistig. / Gebietsabtretung / Saargebiet.
Eupen —
Ostpreußen —
Oberschlesien.

wirtschaftlich — Der neue deutsche Hafen
Lübeck i. gr. Wasser.
Luft.

Deutschland bündnisunfähig.

Der Völkerbund

Spiritually: / Question of war guilt
Extradition
German Constitution –
Surrender of German Trophies Works of Art
(Defamation of German history)
Deep disgrace.
Permanent occupation of German territory –
Germany freely accepts
foreign flags in Germany and the
national flag is dishonoured.
Destruction of German pride

politically
Loss of territory
the Saar
Eupen
East Prussia
Upper Silesia
in foreign policy
The new German Army on
land and at sea
in the air
Germany barred from making alliances

League of Nations

8.)

materiell, Kohle - Eisen - Koks
die Ruhr Besitzung / Rheinisch

Benzol - Kohlenteer Ammoniak -

Wiedergutmachung

Verkehr { für Pas. / für Land.

Finanziell / Kolonien

Finanzielle Wiedergutmachung
war fast Nichtstun gutzumachen

M. Rennes.

Versailles.
Spaa.
Paris.

2.62. Milliarden — nämlich
Wer kann diese Zahl sehen —

Der internationale Börsenkapitalist

Materially . Coal – Iron – Potassium
German nutrition / Cattle Deliveries
Benzol
Coal tar
Ammonia
Reparations –
Traffic
at sea
on
land
colonies
financially
financial reparations
what had Germany to 'repair'
M. Kennes

Versailles –
Spa –
Paris –
262 milliards – impossible
Who can have this objective –

International finance capitalism

CHAPTER EIGHT

The political testament of 1945

Though Hitler at first joined in the patriotic chorus, coining such slogans as 'Let us put an end to the age of our humiliation . . . and change the shame of every individual into pride at having participated in the greatest age of the German nation, the age of the rise of the Germanic Reich of the German nation',[179] he changed his tune after his release from Landsberg. Thus the 'Political Testament' he dictated in 1925, when the Bavarian government had banned him from addressing public meetings, no longer contained such vague demands as the 'creation of a social state',[180] the 'solution of the Jewish question'[181] or the abrogation of the Treaty of Versailles as an obstacle to economic[182] and political[183] freedom, but was so full of specific territorial demands that friend and foe alike thought he had lost touch with reality.[184] In particular, he proffered the German nation the following piece of advice:

'Never suffer the rise of two continental powers in Europe. Regard all attempts to organize a second military power on the German frontiers, even if merely in the form of a state capable of exerting military pressure, as an attack on Germany and consider it not only your right but also your duty to prevent the rise of such a state by every means, including armed force, or if one has arisen, to smash it again. Make sure that the strength of our nation is founded, not on colonies, but on the European soil of our homeland. Never consider the Reich secure unless for centuries to come it can grant every scion of our people his own piece of soil. Never forget that the most sacred right on this earth is a man's right to what soil he can till with his own hands, and the most sacred sacrifice the blood he sheds for that soil.'[185]

In short, Hitler was no longer content with the restoration of Germany's pre-war borders but called for further expansion and a

constant watch over other nations, the better to subdue or repel them by force of arms. Since this was precisely the doctrine he tried to apply when he was at the height of his power, it may be of interest to discover what part of his 'programme' he still defended shortly before he took his life on 30 April, 1945, by which time he had become a physical and mental wreck. The views of the worsted Führer, Chancellor and Commander-in-Chief are enshrined in his last 'Political Testament', a document he dictated in the bunker of the Reichs Chancellery 20 years after the first, and which he instructed Martin Bormann to convey to Admiral Dönitz, whom Hitler had appointed his successor.*

My political testament.

More than thirty years have passed since 1914 when I made my modest contribution as a volunteer in the First World War, which was forced upon the Reich.

In these three decades love and loyalty to my people have guided all my thoughts, actions and my life. They gave me the strength to make the most difficult decisions ever to confront mortal man. In these three decades I have spent my strength and my health.

It is untrue that I or anyone else in Germany wanted war in 1939. It was wanted and

* Bormann's covering letter read: 'Dear Admiral, Since none of the expected [relief] divisions have arrived and our position appears hopeless, the Führer last night dictated the enclosed political testament. Heil Hitler! Yours, Bormann.' (Original in the National Archives, Washington.) Copies of the testament were also sent to Field-Marshal Schörner and to Press Chief Heinz Lorenz.



Mein politisches Testament.

Seit ich 1914 als Freiwilliger meine bescheidene Kraft in ersten, des Reich aufgezwungenen Weltkrieg einsetzte, sind nunmehr über dreissig Jahre vergangen.

In diesen drei Jahrzehnten haben mich bei all meinem Denken, Handeln und Leben nur die Liebe und Treue zu meinem Volk bewegt. Sie gaben mir die Kraft, schwerste Entschlüsse zu fassen, wie sie bisher noch keinem Sterblichen gestellt worden sind. Ich habe meine Zeit, meine Arbeitskraft und meine Gesundheit in diesen drei Jahrzehnten verbraucht.

Es ist unwahr, dass ich oder irgendjemand anderer in Deutschland den Krieg im Jahre

1939 gewollt haben. Er wurde gewollt und angestiftet ausschliesslich von jenen internationalen Staatsmännern, die entweder jüdischer Herkunft waren oder für jüdische Interessen arbeiteten. Ich habe zuviele Angebote zur Rüstungsbeschränkung und Rüstungskontrolle gemacht, die die Nachwelt nicht auf alle Ewigkeiten wegzuleugnen vermag, als dass die Verantwortung für den Ausbruch dieses Krieges auf mir lasten könnte. Ich habe weiter nie gewollt, dass nach dem ersten unseligen Weltkrieg ein zweiter gegen England oder gar gegen Amerika entsteht. Es werden Jahrhunderte vergehen, aber aus den Ruinen unserer Städte und Kunstdenkmäler wird sich der Hass gegen den letzten Anlass verantwortliche Volk immer wieder erneuern, das wir das alles zu verdanken haben: Das Internationalen Judentum und seinen Helfern.

Ich habe noch drei Tage vor Ausbruch des deutsch-polnischen Krieges dem britischen Botschafter in Berlin eine Lösung der deutsch-polnischen Probleme vorgeschlagen - ähnlich wie im Falle des Saargebietes unter internationaler Kontrolle. Auch dieses Angebot kann [illegible]

provoked solely by international statesmen
either of Jewish origin or working for Jewish interests.
I have made too many offers for the limitation
and control of armaments, which posterity will
not be cowardly enough always to disregard, for responsibility for the outbreak of this war to be placed on
me. Nor have I ever wished that, after the appalling
First World War, there would be a second against
either England or America. Centuries will go by, but
from the ruins of our towns and monuments the hatred of
those ultimately responsible will always grow anew against
the people whom we have to thank for all this: international Jewry and its henchmen.

Only three days before the outbreak of the
German-Polish war I proposed a solution of the German-Polish problem* to the British Ambassador in Berlin –
international control as in the case of the Saar. This
offer, too, cannot be lied away. It was only

* See Hitler's letter to Sven Hedin (pp. 191ff) and also pp. 193f.

rejected because the ruling clique in England wanted war, partly for commercial reasons and partly because it was influenced by the propaganda put out by international Jewry.

I have left no one in doubt that if the people of Europe are once more treated as mere blocks of shares in the hands of these international money and finance conspirators, then the sole responsibility for the massacre must be borne by the true culprits: the Jews. Nor have I left anyone in doubt that this time millions of European children of Aryan descent will starve to death, millions of men will die in battle, and hundreds of thousands of women and children will be burned or bombed to death in our cities without the true culprits being held to account, albeit more humanely.

After six years of war which, despite all setbacks, will one day go down in history as the most glorious and heroic manifestation of the struggle for

verworfen, weil die massgebenden Kreise der englischen Politik den Krieg wünschten, teils der erhofften Geschäfte wegen, teils getrieben durch eine, vom internationalen Judentum veranstaltete Propaganda.

Ich habe aber auch keinen Zweifel darüber gelassen, dass, wenn die Völker Europas wieder nur als Aktienpakete dieser internationalen Geld- und Finanzverschwörer angesehen werden, dann auch jenes Volk mit zur Verantwortung gezogen werden wird, das der eigentlich Schuldige an diesem mörderischen Ringen ist: Das Judentum! Ich habe weiter keinen darüber im Unklaren gelassen, dass dieses Mal nicht nur Millionen Kinder von Europäern der arischen Völker verhungern werden, nicht nur Millionen erwachsener Männer den Tod erleiden und nicht nur Hunderttausende an Frauen und Kindern in den Städten verbrannt und zu Tode bombardiert werden dürften, ohne dass der eigentlich Schuldige, wenn auch durch humanere Mittel, seine Schuld zu büssen hat.

Nach einem sechsjährigen Kampf, der einst in die Geschichte trotz aller Rückschläge als ruhm-

vollste und tapferste Bekundung des Lebenswillens eines Volkes eingehen wird, kann ich mich nicht von der Stadt trennen, die die Hauptstadt dieses Reiches ist. Da die Kräfte zu gering sind, um den feindlichen Ansturm gerade an dieser Stelle noch länger standzuhalten, der eigene Widerstand aber durch ebenso verblendete wie charakterlose Subjekte allmählich entartet wird, möchte ich mein Schicksal mit jenem teilen, das Millionen anderer auch auf sich genommen haben, indem ich in dieser Stadt bleibe. Ausserdem will ich nicht Feinden in die Hände fallen, die zur Erlustigung ihrer verhetzten Massen ein neues, von Juden arrangiertes Schauspiel benötigen.

Ich hatte mich daher entschlossen, in Berlin zu bleiben und dort aus freien Stücken in den Augenblick den Tod zu wählen, in dem ich glaube, dass der Sitz des Führers und Kanzlers selbst nicht mehr gehalten werden kann. Ich sterbe mit freudigem Herzen angesichts der mir bewussten unermesslichen Taten und Leistungen unserer Soldaten an der Front, unserer Frauen zuhause, den Leistungen unserer Bauern und Arbeiter und der in der Geschichte einmaligen Einsatz unserer Jugend, die meinen Namen trägt.

existence of a nation, I cannot abandon the city which is the capital of this Reich. Since our forces are too meagre to withstand the enemy's attack and since our resistance is being debased by creatures who are as blind as they are lacking in character, I wish to share my fate with that which millions of others have also taken upon themselves by remaining in this city. Further, I shall not fall into the hands of the enemy who requires a new spectacle, presented by the Jews, for the diversion of the hysterical masses.

I have therefore decided to stay in Berlin and there to choose death voluntarily when I determine that the position of the Führer and the Chancellery itself can no longer be maintained. I die with a joyful heart in the knowledge of the immeasurable deeds and achievements of our peasants and workers and of a contribution unique in the history of our youth which bears my name.

That I am deeply grateful to them all is as self-evident as is my wish that they do not abandon the struggle but that, no matter where, they continue to fight the enemies of the Fatherland, faithful to the ideals of the great Clausewitz. Through the sacrifices of our soldiers and my own fellowship with them unto death, a seed has been sown in German history that will one day grow to usher in the glorious rebirth of the National Socialist movement in a truly united nation.

Many of our bravest men and women have sworn to bind their lives to mine to the end. I have begged, and finally ordered, them not to do so but to play their part in the further struggle of the nation. I ask the leaders of the Army, the Navy and the Air Force to strengthen the National Socialist spirit of resistance of our soldiers by all possible means, with special emphasis on the fact that I myself, as the founder and creator of this movement, prefer death to cowardly resignation or even to capitulation.

Dass ich ihnen allen meinen aus tiefstem Herzen kommenden Dank ausspreche, ist ebenso selbstverständlich wie mein Wunsch, dass sie deshalb den Kampf unter keinen Umständen aufgeben mögen, sondern, ganz gleich wo immer, ihn gegen die Feinde des Vaterlandes weiterführen, getreu den Bekenntnissen eines grossen Clausewitz. Aus dem Opfer unserer Soldaten und aus meiner eigenen Verbundenheit mit ihnen bis in den Tod, wird in der deutschen Geschichte so oder so einmal wieder der Samen aufgehen zur strahlenden Wiedergeburt der nationalsozialistischen Bewegung und damit zur Verwirklichung einer wahren Volksgemeinschaft.

Viele tapferste Männer und Frauen haben sich entschlossen, ihr Leben bis zuletzt an das meine zu binden. Ich habe sie gebeten und ihnen endlich befohlen, dies nicht zu tun, sondern am weiteren Kampf der Nation teilzunehmen. Die Führer der Armeen, der Marine und der Luftwaffe bitte ich, mit äussersten Mitteln den Widerstandsgeist unserer Soldaten im nationalsozialistischen Sinne zu verstärken unter dem besonderen Hinweis darauf, dass auch ich selbst, als der Gründer und Schöpfer dieser Bewegung, den Tod der feigen Absetzen oder gar einer Kapitulation vorgezogen habe.

Möge es dereinst zum Ehrbegriff des deutschen Offiziers gehören - so wie dies in unserer Marine schon der Fall ist - dass die Übergabe einer Landschaft oder einer Stadt unmöglich ist und dass vor allem die Führer hier mit leuchtendem Beispiel voranzugehen haben in treuester Pflichterfüllung bis in den Tod.

May it become a point of honour of future German army officers, as it is already in our Navy, that the surrender of a district or town is out of the question and that, above everything else, the commanders must set a shining example of faithful devotion to duty unto death.



Hermann Göring and Martin Bormann inspecting the site of the Stauffenberg attempt (20 July, 1944) on Hitler's headquarters.



The last levy.

Second Part of the Political Testament

Before my death, I expel former Reichs-Marshal Hermann Göring from the party and withdraw from him all the rights that were conferred upon him by the decree of 29 June, 1941 and by my Reichstag statement of 1 September, 1939. In his place I appoint Admiral Dönitz as President of the Reich and Supreme Commander of the Armed Forces.

Before my death, I expel the former Reichsführer of the S.S. and the Minister of the Interior Heinrich Himmler from the party and from all his state offices. In his place I appoint Gauleiter Karl Hanke as Reichsführer of the S.S. and Head of the German Police, and Gauleiter Paul Giesler as Minister of the Interior.

Apart altogether from their disloyalty to me, Göring and Himmler have brought irreparable shame on the whole nation by secretly negotiating with the enemy without my knowledge and against my will, and also by attempting illegally to seize control of the State.

Zweiter Teil des politischen Testaments.

Ich stosse vor meinem Tode den früheren Reichsmarschall Hermann G ö r i n g aus der Partei aus und entziehe ihm alle Rechte, die sich aus dem Erlass vom 29. Juni 1941 sowie aus meiner Reichstagserklärung vom 1. September 1939 ergeben könnten. Ich ernenne an Stelle dessen den Großadmiral D ö n i t z zum Reichspräsidenten und Obersten Befehlshaber der Wehrmacht.

Ich stosse vor meinem Tode den früheren Reichsführer-SS und Reichsminister des Innern, Heinrich H i m m l e r aus der Partei sowie aus allen Staatsämtern aus. Ich ernenne an seiner Stelle den Gauleiter Karl H a n k e zum Reichsführer-SS und Chef der deutschen Polizei und den Gauleiter Paul G i e s l e r zum Reichsminister des Innern.

Göring und Himmler haben durch geheime Verhandlungen mit dem Feinde, die sie ohne mein Wissen und gegen meinen Willen abhielten, sowie durch den Versuch, entgegen dem Gesetz, die Macht im

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Staate an sich zu reissen, dem Lande und dem gesamten Volk unabsehbaren Schaden zugefügt, gänzlich abgesehen von der Treulosigkeit gegenüber seiner Person.

Um dem deutschen Volk eine aus ehrenhaften Männern zusammengesetzte Regierung zu geben, die die Verpflichtung erfüllt, den Krieg mit allen Mitteln weiter fortzusetzen, ernenne ich als Führer der Nation folgende Mitglieder des neuen Kabinetts:

Reichspräsident: D ö n i t z
Reichskanzler: Dr. G o e b b e l s
Parteiminister: B o r m a n n
Aussenminister: S e y ß - I n q u a r t
Innenminister: Gauleiter G i e s l e r
Kriegsminister: D ö n i t z
Oberbefehlshaber des Heeres: S c h ö r n e r
Oberbefehlshaber der Kriegsmarine: D ö n i t z
Oberbefehlshaber der Luftwaffe: G r e i m
Reichsführer-SS und Chef der Deutschen Polizei:
Gauleiter H a n k e
Wirtschaft: F u n k
Landwirtschaft: B a c k e
Justiz: T h i e r a c k
Kultus: Dr. S c h e e l

In order to provide the German people with a government of honourable men who will fulfil the task of continuing the war with all the means at their disposal, I, as Führer of the nation, appoint the following members of the new cabinet:

President of the Reich: Dönitz
Chancellor of the Reich: Dr Goebbels
Party Minister: Bormann
Foreign Minister: Seyss-Inquart
Minister of the Interior: Gauleiter Gieser
Minister of War: Dönitz
Supreme Commander of the Army: Schörner
Supreme Commander of the Navy: Dönitz
Supreme Commander of the Air Force: Greim
Reichsführer of the S.S. and Head of the German Police: Gauleiter Hanke
Trade: Funk
Agriculture: Backe
Justice: Thierack
Culture: Dr Scheel

Propaganda: Dr Naumann
Finance: Schwerin-Crossigk
Labour: Dr Hupfauer
Munitions: Saur
Leader of the German Labour Front and Minister without Portfolio: Dr Ley.

Although a number of these men, including Martin Bormann, Dr Goebbels and others together with their wives have joined me of their own free will, not wishing to leave the capital under any circumstances and prepared to die with me, I implore them to grant my request that they place the welfare of the nation above their own feelings. By their work and loyal companionship they will remain as close to me after my death as I hope my spirit will continue to dwell among them and accompany them always. Let them be severe but never unjust and let them never, above all, allow fear to preside over their actions, placing the honour of the nation above everything that exists on earth. May they, finally, always remember that our task, the consolidation of a National Socialist state, represents the work of centuries to come, so that

Propaganda: Dr. Naumann
Finanzen: Schwerin-Crossigk
Arbeit: Dr. Hupfauer
Rüstung: Saur
Leiter der Deutschen Arbeitsfront und Mitglied des Reichskabinetts: Reichsminister Dr. Ley.

Obwohl sich eine Anzahl dieser Männer, wie Martin Bormann, Dr. Goebbels usw. einschliesslich ihrer Frauen, aus freiem Willen zu mir gefunden haben und unter keinen Umständen die Hauptstadt des Reiches verlassen wollten, sondern bereit waren, mit mir hier unterzugehen, muss ich sie doch bitten, meiner Aufforderung zu gehorchen und in diesem Falle das Interesse der Nation über ihr eigenes Gefühl zu stellen. Sie werden mir durch ihre Arbeit und ihre Treue als Gefährten nach dem Tode ebenso nahestehen, wie ich hoffe, dass mein Geist unter ihnen weilen und sie stets begleiten wird. Mögen sie hart sein, aber niemals ungerecht, mögen sie vor allem nie die Furcht zum Ratgeber ihres Handelns erheben und die Ehre der Nation über alles stellen, was es auf Erden gibt. Mögen sie sich endlich dessen bewusst sein, dass unsere Aufgabe, des Ausbaus eines nationalsozialistischen Staates die Arbeit kommender Jahrhunderte darstellt, die

jeden Einzelnen verpflichtet, immer dem gemeinsamen Interesse zu dienen und seine eigenen Vorteile dem gegenüber zurückzustellen. Von allen Deutschen, allen Nationalsozialisten, Männern und Frauen und allen Soldaten der Wehrmacht verlange ich, daß sie der neuen Regierung und ihren Präsidenten treu und gehorsam sein werden bis in den Tod.

Vor allem verpflichte ich die Führung der Nation und die Gefolgschaft zur peinlichen Einhaltung der Rassegesetze und zum unbarmherzigen Widerstand gegen den Weltvergifter aller Völker, das internationale Judentum.

Gegeben zu Berlin, den 29. April 1945, 4.00 Uhr.

Als Zeugen:

A. Fürer Fürer. Hellmuth Weiß Burgdorf

Martin Bormann. Gerd Bucher.

every individual must subordinate his own interest to the common good. I ask of all Germans, of all National Socialists, men and women and all soldiers of the Wehrmacht, that they remain faithful and obedient unto death to the new government and its President.

Above all, I enjoin the government and the people to uphold the race laws to the limit and to resist mercilessly the poisoner of all nations, international Jewry.

Berlin, 29 April, 1945, 4 a.m.
Adolf Hitler

Witnesses:
Dr Joseph Goebbels
Martin Bormann
Wilhelm Burgdorf
Hans Krebs.

Hitler's claim that love and loyalty to his people had guided all his thoughts and actions was as characteristic of his monumental self-delusion as was the assertion that no mortal before him had been confronted with such weighty decisions. That he had used up his 'strength and health' for his country during three decades was a half-truth: from August 1914 until March 1920 he was a soldier; from September 1919 until July 1921 he was a party official of the small DAP and NSDAP; from 1921 to the end of 1923 he was a successful party leader; throughout 1924, after his Beerhall Putsch, he was an ailing but pampered prisoner in Landsberg, where not only his numerous political friends but even his Alsatian were allowed to visit him.* From February 1925 to September 1928 he was forced to keep silent,[186] but from then until February 1932 he was given a free hand and took full advantage of it. In 1932 he became a State Councillor in Brunswick (at least on paper),† and in January 1933 he was appointed Chancellor, so that it was from this point in time only that he was in any way entitled to argue that he had spent his strength and health on the nation's behalf. He did not fall ill until 1936, and not nearly as gravely as he imagined at the time,[187] so that he suffered poor health for six years at most.

Much more important than these details and the fact that he appointed a Reichs President, a Reichs Chancellor and the new cabinet, which he had no constitutional right to do,‡ is his claim that the 'consolidation of a National Socialist state represents the work of centuries to come' and his injunction to the new government to uphold the race laws' and to continue the fight against 'international Jewry'.

Hitler began his political career with an antisemitic speech§ and a crude antisemitic document (the 'expert opinion') and it was with an antisemitic oath and document that he ended his life. He remained

* In a visitor's pass issued to one Matheus Müller by the Public Prosecutor of the First County Court, Munich, on 3 December, 1923, we read: 'Hitler's Alsatian dog may be taken in during the visit.' Document in Federal Archives, Coblenz, NS 26/66.

† See pp. 161ff.

‡ According to Article 41 of the Constitution, the Reichs President had to be elected by popular vote, and the new cabinet had to be appointed by the new Chancellor.

§ His antisemitic outburst at a DAP meeting, which he attended in his official capacity of Army V-man in 1919, so impressed the Party leadership that they made him Party Member No. 555 without bothering to find out if he wanted to join. *Cf.* Hitler, p. 238.

what he had always been, even as a schoolboy: an antisemite who attributed all historical and political misfortunes to the existence of the Jews. Not even at the very end of his life did he feel the slightest sense of personal responsibility for the collapse of the insane plans he had drawn up twenty years earlier.

More revealing than even his Political Testament, however, were his pronouncements in the Bunker of the Chancellery during February to April 1945.[188]

The man who had been so pessimistic about the results of the First World War, caused by others, now tried to fill those around him with hope and courage about the outcome of a war for which he bore sole responsibility. Thus he declared on 6 February that a nation putting up so fierce a resistance as the Germans were, would not be allowed to perish but would be 'welded together' into greater steadfastness and fearlessness than ever before. Where fifteen years earlier he had prophesied that 'Jewish rule' would destroy Germany and reduce her to a colony, he now predicted that the German people, refusing as they did to be led to the slaughter, were facing a glorious future. 'A situation is never hopeless,' he exclaimed at a time when – in contrast to 1919 – there was absolutely no hope left for him or for the country he had led to ruin. When he invoked history before 1924 he usually did so in order to accuse others, but now he looked to it for excuses, for instance when he confessed on 14 February: '. . . it was not my fault that the English and French accepted all my conditions in Munich.'* And he hoped fervently that there might yet be a repetition of what happened in 1762, when Frederick the Great was saved from disaster at the end of the Seven Years' War by the death of Elizabeth of Russia, and Russia's subsequent withdrawal from the anti-Prussian coalition. 'A Churchill' (whom he had called a 'henchman of the Jews' on 4 February) 'may disappear and then everything may change.' He who, during the early 'twenties, had described Germany's distress as the 'beginning of the end', now, just before the greatest catastrophe in Germany's long history, described 'misery and misfortune' as a 'detour' to a 'new era'. Between 1919 and 1924 he had mourned the loss of the German colonies; now on 7 February, 1945,

* On 21 February, 1945, he declared that the Munich agreement notwithstanding 'we could not possibly tolerate the existence in the heart of Germany of however small an abscess in the form of an independent Czechoslovakia. We accordingly lanced that abscess in March 1939.'

he declared: 'we never had any real wish for overseas colonies' and repeated what he had written in *Mein Kampf*: 'To the East, and only to the East, must we divert our excess births.'

As at the beginning of his political career, so Hitler was convinced even at the end that it was the 'merit of National Socialism' to have been the first to 'tackle the Jewish question in a realistic way' and to have solved it by a 'radical decontamination cure'. Similarly he declared on 13 February: 'There comes a moment when they [the Gentiles] tire of being exploited by the Jewish swindler. Then they grow wild like beasts shaking off their parasites . . . If I win this war, I shall put an end to Jewish world supremacy, and even if I should lose, the Jews will have no chance to gloat.' In contrast to what he had said in *Mein Kampf* he had become convinced that 'mental race is tougher and more lasting than natural race', and called it a 'sad demonstration of the victory of the "spirit" over the "flesh" '.[189] His view of the German master-race, too, had changed since Landsberg: 'Lacking the élite we needed,' he confessed on 14 February, 1945, 'we had to make do with what human material we found. The result shows it.'*

'I have always held the view,' Hitler declared on 15 February, 1945,† 'that Germany must never wage war on two fronts', thus stressing that he had learned the lessons of Napoleon's campaign against Russia. Having made military conquest, particularly in the East, a main plank of his political platform, his assertion on 17 February – 'I had hoped to wage this whole war in such a way that the enemy would never have the chance or the time to copy the art of the modern blitzkrieg from us' – had a ring of truth about it, but not so his claim on 21 February that he had 'never promised more than he could keep and was determined to keep'. A day earlier he had voiced deep regrets about the Italian alliance and his previous confidence in Mussolini,[190] and on 24 February, 1945, he called the German declaration of war on the United States 'a tragic chain of circumstances, as irrational as it was stupid. An unhappy historical accident has decreed that [our] seizure of power took place just when Roosevelt, the candidate of World Jewry, came to the White House. Without the Jews and their champion, history would have taken a different

* On 2 April, 1945, he said: 'It seems incredible that the German people are about to be robbed of the very élite that has led them to heroic greatness.'

† In the course of this discussion – and again on 2 April, 1945 – Hitler spoke of the 'Third Reich', a term he had proscribed before the outbreak of war.

course.'[191] 'When I had to admit,' he claimed on 26 February not only untruthfully but also in conflict with *Mein Kampf*, that 'an understanding with England was impossible, I decided to seek a decision in the East by force of arms.' Just as he claimed early on that Germany had not been liberated by the 'host of the meek', by 'the Erzbergers and Rathenaus',[192] i.e. by the democrats, but only by the Blüchers, Scharnhorsts, Yorks and Gneisenaus, so he exclaimed on 26 February, 1945: 'I am Europe's last chance! The new Europe will not be built by parliamentary elections, discussions and resolutions, but only by force.'

Going back on what he had said in *Mein Kampf*, he told his shrunken audience on 2 April, 1945: 'As for the outside world and our relationship to it . . . it is impossible to lay down fast rules, because conditions keep changing. Twenty years ago I wrote that Germany could find only two possible allies in the whole of Europe: England and Italy. Fate has . . . prevented me from . . . acting in accordance with this insight.' From which he concluded that 'the down-trodden German people must, in their national impotence, always try to uphold the race laws we have taught them.'

'Hitler's Hitler' was someone quite other than the Hitler of the biographers, none of whom knew him personally. This is not at all surprising when we consider that even those thrown into his company for long periods of time did not really know what to make of him. Thus Alfred Jodl, Chief of Staff of the Army, who was executed at Nuremburg in 1946, noted in prison:* 'I cannot recall being so divided in my feelings towards any other man as I was towards Hitler. My emotions ranged from reverence and admiration to hatred. His destructive and caustic criticism of so much I held dear – the General Staff, the middle classes, the nobility, the Reichswehr, our sense of right and justice – all this repelled me more and more, especially during the second half of the war . . . Towards the end of the war, Hitler grew increasingly cruel, unjust and suspicious, and rounded on everybody.'

* Jodl handed his notes to his wife. Personal communication by Frau Luise Jodl, of 5 January, 1973.

Appendix

Eva Braun's diary tells us a great deal more about Hitler's character than most interpretations by 'informed' biographers. What Eva Anna Paula Braun, a mistress whose existence Hitler kept a carefully guarded secret for thirteen years, confided to her notebook – which she never intended to revise, let alone to publish – from 6 February, 1935, to 28 May, 1935,* completes Hitler's own descriptions of himself in so illuminating a fashion that it forms a fitting conclusion to this book.†

Eva Braun's diary begins with the following entry:

6 February, 1935

Today is probably the right day for inaugurating this 'masterpiece'.

I have happily reached the age of 23, though whether I'm happy is another question.‡ Right now I'm anything but. And I'm making much too much of this 'occasion'. If only I had a puppy, then I wouldn't be so lonely. But no doubt that is asking too much. Frau Schaub§ came as an 'emissary' with flowers and a telegram.

My whole office looks like a florist's and smells like a harvest festival. I am really being ungrateful. But I was so set on a dachshund and now nothing's come of it again. Next year perhaps. Or later still,

* Eva's repeated complaint that Hitler was deceiving her was due, but only in part, to his secrecy about political engagements. Many of these were officially recorded by one of Martin Bormann's confidential agents in the Brown House and kindly lent to the author by one of Bormann's former colleagues. These notes will be referred to as the 'Bormann-Office Records'.

† The authentic German text was first published in N. E. Gun's *Eva Braun Hitler*, Velbert & Kettwig, 1968, but did not agree in all respects with the handwritten version.

‡ Luis Trenker, who met Eva Braun at about this time, called her a 'prematurely care-worn, beautiful woman, who often complained of Hitler's neglect'. Personal communications by Luis Trenker, 1966–1969.

§ Wife of Hitler's adjutant, Julius Schaub.

then it will be just the thing for a near old maid.* But I must not give up hope. I ought to have learned patience by now.

I bought 2 lottery tickets today for I was certain that it was now or never – it turned out to be never.

I shall never be rich, and that is a fact. Else I would have taken Herta,† Gretel,‡ Ilse§ and Mummy to the Zugspitze this very day and we'd have had a really marvellous time, for there is no fun like having fun together. But it's all 'no go'.

Tonight I am having dinner with Herta. What else can a young spinster of 23 do? And so I shall end my birthday with a real 'blow-out'. I am sure that that is just what he would have wanted.

11 February, 1935

He has just been. But no little doggie and no clothes. He didn't even bother to ask me what I wanted for my birthday. I have had to buy my own trinkets. 1 chain, earrings and a ring for 50 M[arks].

Everything looks very pretty. Let's hope he likes it. If he doesn't he can go and get me something else.

15 February, 1935

Berlin seems to be on the cards at last. But until I'm in the Chancellery¶ I shan't believe it. Let's hope it's going to be fun.

Pity that Herta isn't coming along instead of Charly.‖ She would be my guarantee for a few happy days. Instead we shall probably have

* Hitler, tired of her nagging, eventually gave her a fox-terrier – he refused to let her have a dachshund because he knew that this breed is independent and disobedient, two qualities he abhorred. In this context, we might also mention Henry Picker's record (5 May, 1942) of the following conversation: 'During lunch, the chief [Hitler] kept raving about Bella, his new Alsatian . . . When he first took her for walks he had to pit his will against hers . . . but now he had got her to the point where she answered his call without first resorting to the kind of insolence he absolutely could not stomach' (*cf.* Picker, p. 312). Hitler detested Eva Braun's cat Peter, which would never do as it was told, but he later grew quite fond of it.

† Herta Ostermayr, whom Eva Braun often called her best friend.

‡ Eva's sister. Her husband, Hermann Fegelein, a careerist, an S.S. Gruppenführer and Himmler's deputy, was shot on Hitler's orders shortly before the end of the war because of the – fully justified – suspicion that he was about to desert.

§ Eva Braun's sister.

¶ *Cf.* Albert Speer, pp. 133, 136, 137, 164, 205 and 298, and Maser: *Adolf Hitler*, pp. 98, 100, 103, 105, 109, 111–113, 184, 198, 204, 229, 315, 327, 328, 330, 334, 394, 399, 407, 425, 452, 453, 454, 465, 468, 481 and 486–488.

‖ Eva's friend Charlotte.

a great big 'Geknause',* for I don't think Brückner will go out of his way to show his polite side to Charly.

I am afraid to let myself feel really happy, but it would be wonderful if everything came up trumps. Here's hoping!

18 February, 1935

Yesterday he turned up quite unexpectedly and we had a delightful evening.

The best thing was that he is thinking of getting me out of the shop and . . . but I'd rather not count my chickens – buying me a small house as a present. I simply dare not think of how absolutely wonderful it would be. I would no longer have to open the door for our 'honourable customers' and play the shopgirl. Dear God, grant that it really is true and that it really happens soon.

Poor Charly is sick and can't come along to Berlin. She really does have bad luck. But perhaps it is better this way. Br.† might be horribly rude to her and then she'd be bound to get even more depressed.

I am so terribly glad that he loves me so much and pray it will always be like that. I don't want it to be my fault if he stops loving me one day.

4 March [1935]

I am desperately unhappy again, and as I can't write to him I have to put my lamentations down in this book.

He turned up on Saturday.‡ Saturday was Munich Ball night. Frau Schwarz§ had given me a box ticket, so I simply had to show up since I'd already said I would.

I spent a few wonderful hours with him until midnight and, with his permission, went on to the Ball for two hours.

He promised to see me on Sunday. But though I rang the Osteria¶ and asked Werlin‖ to tell him that I was waiting for news, he simply

* Bavarian for a glum get-together.

† Hitler's adjutant, Brückner.

‡ On 2 March, 1935, Hitler toured the Saar after celebrating its return to the Reich (Bormann-Office Records).

§ Wife of Party Treasurer Franz Xaver Schwarz.

¶ Hitler's favourite 'local' in Munich.

‖ Manager of the Daimler-Benz works.

drove on to Feldafing and even refused Hoffman's* invitation to coffee and dinner. But then there are 2 sides to every question.† Perhaps he wanted to be alone with Dr G.‡ who has just come over, but he might have let me know. I felt as if I was sitting on hot coals at the Hoffmanns and kept thinking he would arrive at any moment.

And then we had to go to the station, because he had suddenly decided to take a train,§ and all we could see was the tail lights. Hoffmann had once again left things until the last moment and so I could not even say goodbye. Perhaps I am painting things blacker than they are, let's hope I am, but he won't be back for a fortnight and so I am unhappy and nervous. I can't tell why he should be cross with me, perhaps because of the Ball, but after all he said I could go.

I keep wondering why he should have left so early ['so early' crossed out by Eva Braun] without saying goodbye.

The Hoffmanns gave me a ticket for the Venetian evening tonight.¶ But I am not going. I am much too sad.

11 March, 1935

I only wish one thing: to fall so ill that I won't be able to bother with him for at least a week. Why does nothing happen to me, why do I have to suffer so much? If only I had never met him. I am quite desperate. I am buying myself sleeping draughts again so that I can get myself into a semi-trance and don't have to brood so much.

If only the devil would take me. With him I would be much better off than up here.

I waited outside the Carlton‖ for 3 hours and had to look on while he bought flowers for Ondra,** and asked her out for dinner. (Insane imaginings – 26 March.)

He only needs me for certain things, that's all it can be. (Nonsense.)

* Hitler's personal photographer, Heinrich Hoffmann.

† One of Hitler's favourite turns of phrase, which his secretaries turned into: 'There are two possibilities, either it rains or else it stays fine.'

‡ Dr Joseph Goebbels. It was in Goebbels' house that Hitler often met the singer Gretl Slesak, and other women, something that Eva Braun did not know. See Maser: *Adolf Hitler*, pp. 318f.

§ For security reasons Hitler kept his journeys a closely guarded secret from even his closest friends.

¶ By 'Venetian evening' Eva Braun was probably referring to Johann Strauss's operetta *A night in Venice*.

‖ Carlton Hotel.

** Anny Ondra, the wife of the former heavyweight champion Max Schmeling.

When he says he loves me, he means just at that moment. Like all his promises, none of which he ever keeps.

Why does he keep torturing me instead of putting an end to it all?

16 March [1935]

He is off to Berlin again.* If only I didn't get so upset whenever I see him less than I normally do. It's really quite obvious that he can't have so much time for me now that he is so busy with politics.

I am going to the Zugspitze with Gretl and hope that my mood will blow over.

Everything has always turned out well in the end and it's bound to again. I just have to be patient.

1 April, 35

Last night he invited us to dinner in the Vier Jahrezeiten.† I had to sit next to him for 3 hours and couldn't exchange a single word with him. On leaving he simply handed me an envelope with money, as he had done once before. How nice it would have been if he had added his regards or a kind word, I would have been so happy. But then he never thinks of such things.

Why doesn't he go for dinner to the Hoffmanns, then at least I would have him to myself for a few minutes?‡ I only wish that he doesn't come back before his apartment is ready.

29 April [1935]

I am poorly. Very poorly indeed. In every respect. I keep singing 'things will soon be better', freely, after Louis,§ but it doesn't help. His apartment is ready but I am not allowed to visit him. Love seems to be no part of his programme at the moment. Now that he is back in Berlin,¶ I am relaxing a bit. But there were a few days last week when I cried my eyes out every night. The more so as I had to spend Easter

* On 17 March, one day after he had re-introduced universal military service, Hitler attended the Heroes' Memorial Day in Berlin. Then he flew back to Munich to take the salute outside the Hotel Vier Jahreszeiten. (Bormann-Office Records.)

† Munich hotel.

‡ At the time, Hitler was travelling a great deal between Munich and Berlin. On 1 April he met Eva Braun in Munich; on 4 April he gave a reception for the Party, and on 5 April a general reception in Berlin. (Bormann-Office Records.)

§ Probably her friend Luis Trenker.

¶ Hitler was staying in Berlin (Bormann-Office Records) and was preparing for the receptions he was giving on 4 and 5 May.

all by myself.

I keep saving and scraping and am getting on everyone's nerves what with trying to sell every scrap I own starting with my dresses and my camera down to theatre tickets.

But things will soon be better, my debts aren't that big after all.

10 May, 1935

As Frau Hoffmann told me so kindly and tactlessly, he now has a substitute for me. She is called Valkyrie* and looks like one, including her legs. But that's the size of woman he likes, and he's bound to worry her so much that she'll grow thin as a rake, unless she has Charly's talent for putting on weight with misery. With Charly trouble stimulates the appetite.

If Frau Hoffmann† is right then it is quite unforgivable of him not to tell me.

After all he ought to know me well enough to realize that I would put nothing in his way if he suddenly discovered that his heart belonged to another. He doesn't care about what happens to me in any case.

I shall wait until the 3rd June when it will be a quarter of a year since our last meeting‡ and then I'm going to ask for an explanation. Let anyone say that I ask for too much.

The weather is so beautiful and I, the sweetheart of the greatest man in Germany and on earth, just keep sitting here and all I can do is watch the sun through the window.§

That he should be so lacking in insight to allow me to keep bowing and scraping to strangers!

But man proposes . . . etc.

And as we make our beds . . .

After all it is my fault, though one likes blaming such things on others.

* Probably Unity Valkyrie Mitford, the daughter of Lord Redesdale, who was desperately in love with Hitler. On 3 September, 1939, after hearing of the British declaration of war, she fired two bullets into her head, but survived.

† The wife of Hitler's photographer, she could not have been too well disposed towards Eva Braun, believing with others that her daughter Henriette (who later married Baldur von Schirach) would have suited the Führer much better.

‡ In fact, it was only two months.

§ According to Luis Trenker (personal communication, 1966) Eva Braun would quite often sit at a table and gaze at Hitler's photograph: 'so that at least I can look at him'.

This fast* will soon be over and then the food will taste all the better.

But what a pity that it's Spring right now.

28 May, 35

I have just sent him a decisive letter. I wonder if he will sit up and take notice?

Well, we shall see.

If I don't receive a reply by 10 o'clock tonight I shall swallow 25 pills and gently fall asleep.

Is this the passionate love he has so often sworn me, when he won't send me one kind word for 3 months.

True his head is full of political problems but hasn't there been a respite? And what happened last year? Didn't he have lots of bother with Röhm and Italy, and still he found time for me.

I know I can't really judge whether the present situation is not much more trying for him, but it's not asking too much to expect him to leave word with the Hoffmanns or with someone else.

I am afraid something else is behind it all.

I am not to blame. Certainly not.

Perhaps another woman, though not that girl Valkyrie, she would be quite impossible, but there are so many others.

What other reason could there be? I can't think of any.

28 May [1935]

Dear Lord, I am afraid he won't answer today. If only someone would help me, everything is so terrible and hopeless.

Perhaps my letter reached him at the wrong moment. Perhaps I oughtn't to have written at all.

Whatever happens, uncertainty is more unbearable than a sudden end.

Dear Lord, help me, let me speak to him this day, tomorrow will be too late.

I have decided on 35 pills, this time I want to make 'dead certain'.

If only he would ring me.

* Hitler was again travelling a great deal. On 19 May, for instance, he opened the Autobahn in Frankfurt-am-Main, went on to Weimar in the evening, stayed overnight and continued to Berlin on 20 May. On 25 and 26 May he celebrated 'German Navy Day' in Hamburg. Next came 'Regional Day' in Mecklenburg, and 'Reichsführer Day' in Munich. (Bormann-Office Records.)

Here Eva Braun's diary ends. Ilse Braun, who called on her sister late that night to return an evening dress, found her unconscious, tore the entries (22 pages) out of the diary, and summoned a doctor who saved Eva's life. Ilse later returned the notes to her sister. Eva kept them in Obersalzberg, and shortly before she took her life in Berlin, she sent her sisters Ilse and Gretl instructions to destroy the diary. However, they handed them to the mother of an S.S. officer for safe keeping, and thanks to an indiscretion they were later discovered by the Americans and taken to the United States.*

* Personal communication by Ilse Braun, April 1973.

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Werner Maser

Notes

1 Kohl, H.: *Bismarckbriefe 1836–1872*, Bielefeld and Leipzig, 1897, p. 22.
2 *Cf.* Picker, H.: *Hitlers Tischgespräche im Führerhauptquartier 1941–1942*, Stuttgart, 1965, pp. 233 and 429.
3 Copy of letter in author's possession. Original owned by a Dutch collector.
4 *Cf.* W. Maser: *Adolf Hitler*, pp. 75ff.
5 *Cf.* A. Kubizek: *Adolf Hitler – Mein Jugendfreund*, Graz and Göttingen, 1953. See also W. Maser: *Die Frühgeschichte der NSDAP*, Frankfurt and Bonn, 1965, pp. 8, 50, 52, 53, 55, 58, 59, 60–61, 63, 64, 65, 66, 67, 73, 74, 77, 78, 79, 81, 82, 83, 85, 86, 91, 92, 96, 97, 98, 101, 103, 105, 107, 112 and 121.
6 *Cf.* W. Maser: *Adolf Hitler*, pp. 304f.
7 *ibid.*, p. 73.
8 *ibid.*, pp. 84ff.
9 *ibid.*, pp. 62f.
10 Kubizek, *op. cit.*, p. 307.
11 *ibid.*, p. 315.
12 *ibid.*, p. 315.
13 *Cf.* Hitler, Adolf: *Mein Kampf*, Munich, 1939 ed., pp. 16f.
14 *Cf.* Maser, *Adolf Hitler*, pp. 80f.
15 *ibid.*
16 The amount is unknown. Johanna Pölzl (died 1911), one of the three heirs, left 3,800 crowns. *Cf.* W. Maser: *Die Frühgeschichte der NSDAP*, pp. 80f and 482f. Klara Hitler must have inherited a comparable sum. *Cf.* W. Maser: *Adolf Hitler*, pp. 80f.
17 Original owned by Hitler's relatives. Copy in the author's possession.
18 *Cf.* W. Maser: *Adolf Hitler*, pp. 80f.
19 Notification to Hitler's guardian, Joseph Mayerhofer, by Linz District Court on 4 May, 1911: PV 49/3–24. Published by kind permission of the Mayerhofer family.
20 *Cf.* W. Maser: *Die Frühgeschichte der NSDAP*, pp. 8, 10, 68–72, 73–76, 79, 81, 113, 477, 478, 480 and 482.
21 *ibid.*, pp. 68f; *cf.* W. Maser: *Adolf Hitler*, pp. 88f.
22 Personal communication from Hitler's relatives (1967–1971).
23 Hitler, *op. cit.*, p. 179.
24 *ibid.*, p. 138.
25 Registration form, May 1913. Federal Archives, Coblenz, NS 26/65.
26 Maser: *Adolf Hitler*, p. 123 (*cf.* Maser: *Die Frühgeschichte der NSDAP*, p. 121).
27 *ibid.*
28 *ibid.*
29 *ibid.*
30 Quoted in F. Jetzinger: *Hitlers Jugend, Phantasien, Lügen – und die Wahrheit*, Vienna, 1956, pp. 262ff.
31 Copy of the official acknowledgement by the Austrian authorities in Federal Archives, Coblenz, NS 26/17a. .
32 Hitler, *op. cit.*, p. 138.

33 *ibid.*, p. 139.
34 *Cf.* Maser: *Die Frühgeschichte der NSDAP*, p. 69.
35 *Cf. ibid.*, pp. 118f and Maser: *Adolf Hitler*, p. 93.
36 Hitler, *op. cit.*, pp. 173ff.
37 *ibid.*, pp. 178f.
38 *Cf.* the War Records of 7th Company, 1st Replacement Battalion 2nd Bav. Inf. Reg., Vol. XXII; *ibid.*, Folio 249, No. e 7111; War Records 4th Comp. 1st Rep. Bat. 2nd Inf. Reg., No. 718; War Records 1st Res. Inf. Reg. 16, No. 166/148; Casualty List No. 424 of the Bavarian Army, 12 April, 1919, pp. 31, 288; 2 hospital returns to the Royal Bav. War Ministry; Alphabetical Casualty List No. 233; Official Gazette, No. 51, of 25 November, 1916, pp. 15, 366 – all in Fed. Archives, Coblenz, NS 26/12.

Hitler's claim on 29 November, 1921, that he was wounded on 7 October, 1918, (copy of Hitler's statement in Fed. Arch., Coblenz, NS 26/17a), does not tally precisely with the official records. *Cf.* the judgement by the Hamburg County Court (Z.II.313/32, 10 March, 1932) in re Hitler *vs.* Heinrich Braune and Auer & Co. (Fed. Arch., Coblenz, NS 26/17a.)
39 *Cf.* Maser: *Adolf Hitler*, pp. 134ff.
40 *ibid.*, p. 176.
41 This remark also suggests that at the time when he claimed that his political philosophy was 'complete', his positive attitude to England was still subject to many fluctuations. *Cf.* Maser: *Adolf Hitler*, pp. 176ff.
42 Quoted from the original. Private collection.
43 Because the text on the reverse side of the letter-card cannot be deciphered with certainty, it has been omitted.
44 Hitler, *op. cit.*, pp. 180f.
45 *ibid.*, p. 181.
46 In *Mein Kampf* (p. 226) Hitler refers to him as Schmiedt.
47 Copy in Fed. Arch., Coblenz, NS 26/14. This letter cannot be dated with certainty.
48 *Cf.* Hitler, *op. cit.*, pp. 221ff.
49 Reference deleted for this edition.
50 *Cf.* Maser: *Adolf Hitler*, Chapter 9.
51 *Cf.* Picker, *op. cit.*, p. 222. *Cf.* Maser: *Adolf Hitler*, pp. 327ff.
52 *Cf.* Maser: *Die Frühgeschichte der NSDAP*, pp. 118 and 334ff.
53 *Cf.* Maser: *Adolf Hitler*, Chapter 9.
54 *Cf.* Maser: *Die Frühgeschichte der NSDAP*, pp. 8, 10, 68–72, 73–76, 79, 81, 113, 477, 478, 480 and 482, and Maser: *Adolf Hitler*, pp. 75, 86–91, 94, 115, 139, 281, 306 and 481. *Cf.* Bormann's report for the Archives of the NSDAP, February 1944. (Fed. Arch., Coblenz, NS 26/64.)
55 *Cf.* Maser: *Hitlers Mein Kampf*, Munich and Esslingen, 1966.
56 *Cf.* Maser: *Adolf Hitler*, p. 379.
57 *ibid.*, pp. 120f.
58 In 1969 this wallet was sold by auction in Munich.
59 *Cf.* Maser: *Adolf Hitler*, pp. 111f.
60 Unpublished report by Dr Rudolf Wolters of 6 November, 1937. Original owned by Dr Wolters, who took part in these discussions as Divisional Officer of the Berlin Inspectorate (Speer Dept.).
61 *ibid.*
62 *ibid.*
63 Unpublished report by the architect Schelke (15 March, 1941), who took part in the discussions.
64 *Cf.* Maser: *Adolf Hitler*, pp. 98ff.
65 Written statement by Karl Dönitz of 10 January, 1967.

66 Copy of report by Dr Wolters (14 June, 1938).
67 Report by Dr Wolters (3 December, 1938).
68 *ibid.*
69 Document owned by Dr Wolters.
70 Schüssler was one of Hitler's superiors at the end of the First World War. Hitler enrolled him in the NSDAP and he became its first (paid) general secretary. *Cf.* Maser: *Die Frühgeschichte der NSDAP*, pp. 43, 168, 172, 173, 176, 206, 235, 258, 272, 283 and 324, and Maser: *Adolf Hitler*, p. 159
71 Max Amann was another of Hitler's superiors at the end of the War. *Cf.* Maser: *Die Frühgeschichte der NSDAP*, pp. 124, 125, 275, 277, 280, 284, 305, 306, 342, 357, 371, 408, 409 and 460, and Maser: *Adolf Hitler*, pp. 138, 192, 456 and 460.
72 Hitler's deputy until 1941. *Cf.* Maser: *Die Frühgeschichte der NSDAP*, pp. 25, 33, 124, 125, 282, 283, 288, 289, 304, 305, 307, 323, 350, 359, 391, 400, 445, 452, and Maser: *Adolf Hitler*, pp. 13, 138, 154, 192, 299, 326, 367, 409 and 464.
73 Personal communication by Elisabeth and Joseph Popp jun. (1966).
74 *ibid.*
75 Hitler addressed him variously as Joseph and Josef.
76 *Cf.* Maser: *Adolf Hitler*, pp. 326ff.
77 *ibid.*, pp. 80ff.
78 *Cf.* Maser: *Die Frühgeschichte der NSDAP*, pp. 260ff.
79 *Cf.* Picker, *op. cit.*, p. 432.
80 Matthias, E. and Morsey, R.: *Das Ende der Parteien 1933*, Düsseldorf, 1960, p. XIII.
81 The letters were first published in the *Völkischer Beobachter* of 26 November, 1932.
82 *Völkischer Beobachter*, 26 November, 1932.
83 National Archives, Washington.
84 *Cf.* Hitler's Directions on War (*Weisungen für die Kriegsführung*), pp. 237ff.
85 *Cf.* Maser: *Adolf Hitler*, p. 337.
86 Hedin, p. 276.
87 *Cf.* Hedin, p. 274.
88 Full text in Domarus II/3, pp. 1291ff.
89 *Cf.* P. Schmidt: *Statist auf diplomatischer Bühne 1923–1945*, Frankfurt and Bonn, 1964, pp. 457ff.
90 *Cf.* Maser: *Adolf Hitler*, p. 337.
91 *ibid.*, pp. 350ff.
92 *ibid.*, pp. 305ff.
93 From the shorthand notes of Lauböck's secretary. Fed. Arch., Coblenz, NS 26/14.
94 Domarus II/4, p. 2233.
95 Speech of 30 May, 1942. *Cf.* Domarus II/4, p. 2233.
96 Speech of 5 July, 1944. Domarus II/4, p. 2233.
97 *Cf.* Hitler's letter on p.
98 Hitler, *op. cit.*, p. 137.
99 *ibid.*, p. 21.
100 On 4 September, 1919, Adolf Gemlich, a former V-man, had asked Karl Mayr for his opinion on the matter. State Archives, Munich, Div. II, Group Command, Vol. 4, 50/8. Mayr's letter to Hitler is in the same file.
101 The original of this 'opinion', which Hitler composed on the orders of Reichswehr Group Command 4 I b/P and duly forwarded to Adolf Gemlich in Ulm, has been lost. The text we have reprinted is based on a carbon copy in the State Archives, Munich, Div. II, Group Command, Vol. 4, 50/8.
102 *Cf.* the documents in State Archives, Munich, Div. II, Group Command 4, Vols. 46/6, 46/7, 46/8, 46/9, and E. Deuerlein: 'Hitlers Eintritt in die Politik und die Reichswehr' in the weekly *Das Parlament*, 8 July, 1959.

103 *Cf.* p. 214.
104 *Cf.* D. Eckart: *Der Bolschewismus von Moses bis Lenin. Zwiegespräche zwischen Adolf Hitler und mir* ('Bolshevism from Moses to Lenin. My dialogues with Hitler'), Munich, 1925.
105 Hitler, *op. cit.*, p. 331.
106 Exodus 23:12 states expressly: '. . . on the seventh day thou shalt rest: that thine ox and thine ass may rest, and the son of thy handmaid, and the stranger, may be refreshed.' *Cf.* Deuteronomy 15:7: 'If there be among you a poor man of one of thy brethren within any of thy gates in thy land . . . thou shalt not harden thine heart, nor shut thine hand from thy poor brother.'
107 These notes are particularly striking examples of Hitler's attitude to spelling – not only did he mis-spell the name of his friend Eckart, but also 'bougeois' (bourgeois) and 'parolle' (parole).
108 *Cf.* pp. 223ff.
109 Hitler, *op. cit.*, pp. 742ff. *Cf.* U. D. Adam: *Zur Judenpolitik im Dritten Reich*, Düsseldorf, 1972.
110 Hitler, *op. cit.*, pp. 739f.
111 *ibid.*, p. 742.
112 *Cf.* article in *Völkischer Beobachter*, 10 July, 1923.
113 *Cf.* Maser: *Die Frühgeschichte der NSDAP*, pp. 184f.
114 Named after the US statesman and financier Charles Dawes ('Business, not politics'). The Dawes Plan made the transfer of reparation payments conditional on the stability of the German exchange, i.e. on Germany's ability to pay.
115 Wilhelm Bölsche's *Vom Bazillus zum Affenmenschen* was published in 1899. Hitler read the second (1921) edition. Bölsche conjured up the vision of a 'naked struggle for existence of the zoological species "man" against "the lowest form of life"', and prophesied that 20th-century man would be faced with the 'ultimate fight', i.e. the fight against the 'Third Reich' of the bacteria.
116 Hitler, *op. cit.*, p. 69. *Cf.* Maser: *Adolf Hitler*, pp. 252ff.
117 Hitler, *op. cit.*, p. 334.
118 After the First World War, Hitler called for universal conscription (e.g. during a speech in the Munich Hofbräuhaus on 28 August, 1920). *Cf.* report on the meeting in Bav. State Arch., Munich, Div. II, Group Command 4, Vol. 40/8.
119 *Cf.* p. 365.
120 *Cf.* p. 253.
121 H. Trevor Roper: 'Hitlers Kriegsziele' (Hitler's War Aims) in *Stationen der deutschen Geschichte*, Stuttgart 1962, pp. 9ff.
122 *Cf.* notes of Hitler's speech in the Munich Hofbräuhaus, 13 August, 1920, Main Arch. NSDAP, Group I, 62/–14–NSDAP/HA.37. After 1933, too, Hitler still spoke out against a new war (e.g. on 1 and 17 May, 1933, quoted in Domarus, Vol. I, pp. 259ff and 270ff), but for purely tactical reasons. *Cf.* Maser: *Hitlers Mein Kampf*, pp. 153f.
123 Maser: *Die Frühgeschichte der NSDAP*, p. 464, note 388.
124 When Hitler wrote in 1919 that the Jews must be 'removed', he was clearly referring to their expulsion from Germany.
125 *Cf.* U. D. Adam, *op. cit.*, and R. M. W. Kempner, *op. cit.*, pp. 131ff.
126 *Cf.* A. Hillgruber: 'Die "Endlösung" und das deutsche Ostproblem als Kernstück des rassenideologischen Programms des Nationalsozialismus' in *Viertelsjahrshefte für Zeitgeschichte*, Vol. 2/72, pp. 133ff.
127 *Cf.* Hitler, *op. cit.*, p. 70: 'Hence I believe that I am acting in accordance with the will of the Almighty Creator: by defending myself against the Jew, I am fighting for the work of the Lord'. The use of the phrase 'defending myself against the Jew' was a blatant misconstruction of the true facts.

128 Hitler, *op. cit.*, p. 772: 'Twelve or fifteen thousand . . . Hebrew corrupters of the people.'
129 Quoted from Domarus, II/3, p. 1058. *Cf.* Hitler's speeches on 30 January, 1941, and 30 January, 1942; *ibid.*, pp. 1663 and 1829.
130 *Cf.* p. 234.
131 *Cf.* p. 345.
132 *Cf.* pp. 263ff.
133 Hitler on 28 January, 1942 in the *Wolfsschanze*; Picker, *op. cit.*, p. 172.
134 Haushofer would pay his assistant Hess and Hitler occasional visits in Landsberg; *cf.* Maser: *Hitlers Mein Kampf*, p. 152.
135 Hitler, *op. cit.*, p. 20.
136 Registration form for lodgers, Fed. Arch., Coblenz, NS 26/17a.
137 *Cf.* p. 133.
138 *Cf.* p. 301.
139 *Cf.* Maser: *Die Frühgeschichte der NSDAP*, pp. 331f.
140 W. Jochmann: *Nationalsozialismus und Revolution. Ursprung und Geschichte der NSDAP in Hamburg 1922–1923*, Frankfurt, 1963.
141 *Cf.* H. Gordon: *Hitlerputsch 1923. Machtkampf in Bayern 1923/24*, Frankfurt, 1971.
142 Hitler, *op. cit.*, pp. 231f.
143 *Cf.* p. 283.
144 *Cf.* Hitler, *op. cit.*, p. 321.
145 *ibid.*, pp. 21 and 137.
146 The precise date of the draft (Fed. Arch., Coblenz, NS 26/50) is unknown, but most of the details suggest that it was composed soon after the 'expert opinion'.
147 Quoted in H. Picker, *op. cit.*, p. 149. *Cf.* Maser: *Adolf Hitler*, p. 267.
148 Hitler had come to realize by the end of 1941 that he would not survive as a victor. *Cf.* Maser: *Adolf Hitler*, p. 416.
149 H. Picker, *op. cit.*, p. 148.
150 Hitler in December 1941. H. Picker, *op. cit.*, p. 154.
151 *Cf.* H. Picker, *op. cit.*, pp. 248, 264f, 305 and 338.
152 *Cf.* Maser: *Adolf Hitler*, Chapter 9.
153 IMT, Vol. IX, p. 413.
154 *ibid.*, p. 446.
155 *ibid.*, Vol. XV, p. 333.
156 *ibid.*, Vol. X, pp. 671f.
157 Hitler, *op. cit.*, p. 195. *Cf.* Hitler, *op. cit.*, pp. 279f.
158 *ibid.*, p. 229.
159 *ibid.*, p. 231.
160 In the late summer of 1919, even before he wrote his 'expert opinion', his comrades and superiors praised his knowledge and oratorical skills. *Cf.* Maser: *Die Frühgeschichte der NSDAP*, pp. 139f, and *Adolf Hitler*, pp. 164f.
161 *Cf.* p. 295.
162 *Cf.* p. 295.
163 *Cf.* p. 295.
164 *Cf.* p. 297.
165 *Cf.* p. 295.
166 Quoted from Maser: *Adolf Hitler*, pp. 165f.
167 H. Kellenbach: *Mit Hitler auf Festung Landsberg*, Munich, 1933, pp. 194f.
168 *Cf.* p. 297.
169 Hitler, *op. cit.*, pp. 230f.
170 *Cf.* p. 297.
171 *Cf.* Hitler, *op. cit.*, pp. 230f.

172 *Cf.* Maser: *Die Frühgeschichte der NSDAP*, pp. 257f, Note 16. On 16 November, 1921, Hitler declared before the Munich Registration Court that he owned all the shares of the *Völkischer Beobachter* and Eher Publ. Co., although, until 17 December, 1921, shares worth 56,500 Marks were still in other hands. *Cf.* R. von Sebottendorf: *Bevor Hitler kam*, Munich, 1934, p. 196, and Maser: *Die Frühgeschichte der NSDAP*, p. 260.

173 When he first realized that only a 'world power' could engage in profitable 'world trade'.

174 Hitler, *op. cit.*, p. 396: 'Besides, only a fragment of all these people join the new movement to serve it; in most cases, they simply welcome the protection or the possibilities it offers to inflict their old ideas on unhappy mankind.'

175 *Cf.* Hitler, pp. 421f. On 1 January, 1921, for instance, he told the supporters of the 'folkish' movement in the *Völkische Beobachter* that they were ineffective because, though their aims were right, they lacked the power to implement them. He propounded the same view in many letters.

176 It is not clear why Hitler should have mentioned the Triple Alliance of 1882 in this connection since that alliance (between Austria, Hungary, Italy and Germany) was in the nature of a defensive union in case of attack on Germany or Italy. As to the claim that Russia was Germany's only potential ally but had to be rejected because of Austria–Hungary (Hitler was probably referring to the Eastern Alliance), he later explained it as follows: 'There is one main charge that could be raised against the old German Reich with regard to its alliance policy: not that it failed to maintain good relations with Russia, but only that it ruined its relations with everyone by continuous shilly-shallying . . .'.

177 Hitler, *op. cit.*, p. 395.

178 *Cf.* Maser: *Die Frühgeschichte der NSDAP*, pp. 205ff.

179 *Cf.* p. 313.

180 *Cf.* p. 305.

181 *Cf.* p. 251.

182 *Cf.* p. 266.

183 *Cf.* p. 234.

184 *Cf.* p. 345.

185 Hitler, *op. cit.*, pp. 754f.

186 *Cf.* Maser: *Hitlers Mein Kampf*, p. 25.

187 *Cf.* Maser: *Adolf Hitler*, pp. 326ff.

188 It is thanks to Martin Bormann, who recorded Hitler's last thoughts in the bunker of the Reichs Chancellery, that we can compare Hitler's pre-1924 ideas with his reminiscences in February to April 1945. Bormann's notes eventually fell into the hands of François Genoud, a journalist working in Switzerland. *Cf. Le Testament politique de Hitler*. Notes recueillies par Martin Bormann. Preface de H. R. Trevor-Roper; Commentaires de André François-Poncet; Version française et présentation de François Genoud. Paris, 1962. *Cf. Der Spiegel*, No. 3, 1962, pp. 292ff.

189 *Cf.* Hitler's draft for a 'Monumental History of Mankind', pp. 282ff.

190 *Cf.* Maser: *Die Frühgeschichte der NSDAP*, pp. 326, 341, 355, 356f, 400f, 432, 460 and 553f.

191 *Cf.* p. 253.

192 *Cf.* p. 317.

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